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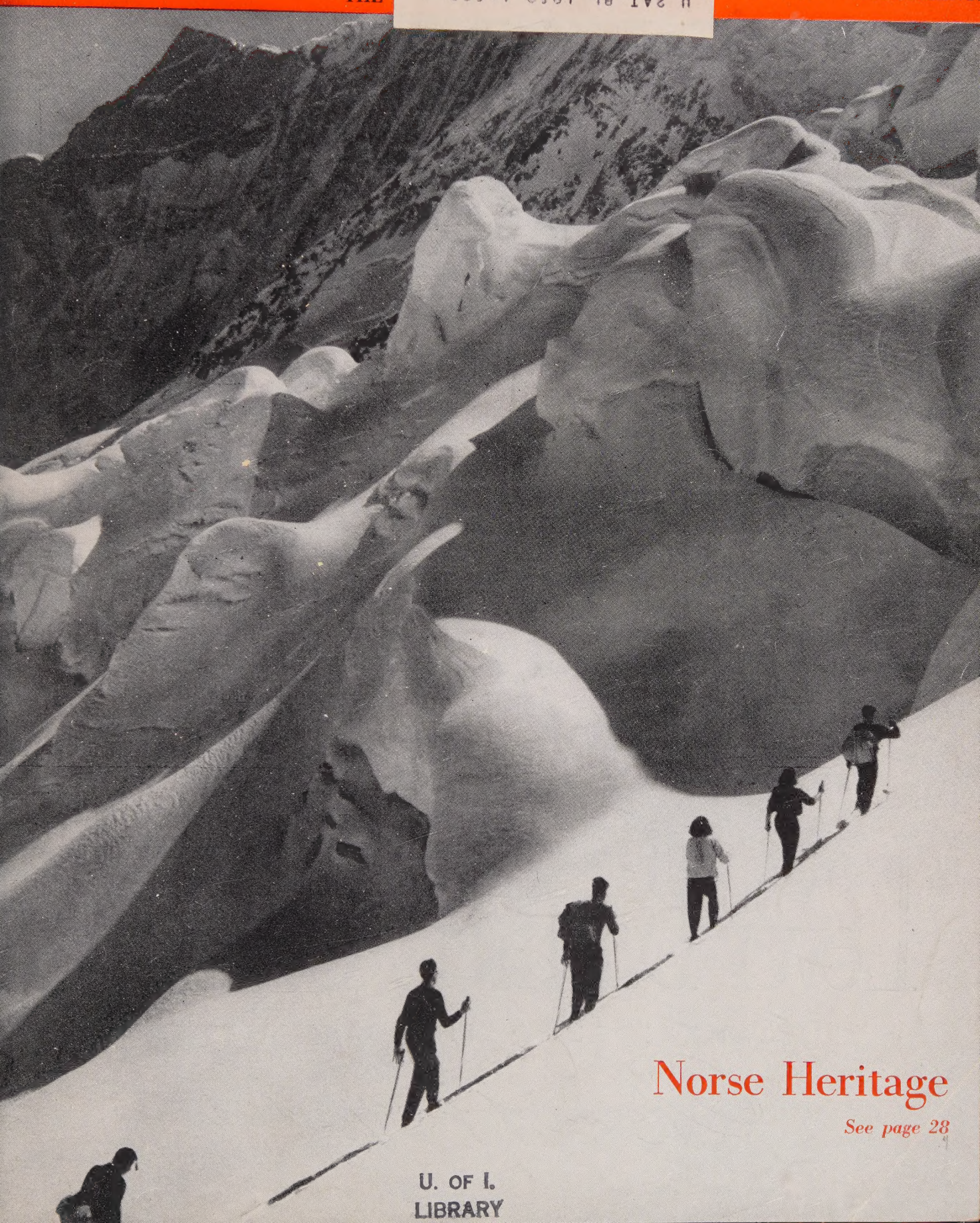

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Letters

TO
THE
EDITOR

Intent and Execution

Only recently . . . my attention was called to the brief article on page 2 of your September, 1948, issue, entitled "The Chilean Unwelcome."

May I say to you that there is no foundation of fact whatsoever for this article. Decree Law No. 3652 was signed by the President of Chile on June 18, 1948, setting up a Permanent Commission on its immigration policy. As a country in development, and sparsely populated, Chile seeks ways to incorporate into her economy such human material as may be useful and easily assimilable, who may lend their productive and technical knowledge to the progress of the Nation. At the same time, Chile seeks to prevent the entry of undesirable elements, which may not serve the purpose indicated, but without in so doing to encourage in any way a spirit of racial discrimination.

I can not speak for other countries, but I may assure you that Chile is not a party to any agreement, express or implied, secret or public, intended to stop Jewish immigration.

CARLOS REYES
Press Attache
Chilean Embassy
Washington 6, D. C.

UNW's Editors are fully aware of the splendid devotion to democratic principles often displayed by Senor Reyes' government and President Gabriel González Videla. They maintain, however, that whatever its intent the immigration decree is aimed at Jews and does constitute an exclusion act—as administered by consuls and minor officials.

In fact, the so-called "qualifications" intended to be applied are themselves not justified. Experience has established, again and again, that immigrants can be trained for, and succeed in, new ways of life. Dramatic recent examples applying particularly to Jews may be seen in Israel where urban, mainly European, Jews have achieved unanticipated successes as farmers, industrial workers and soldiers. UNW contends that the Chilean—or any other—immigration law which denies individuals the right of entry for reasons other than criminality, immorality, mental incapacity or dangerous diseases is inevitably an indefensible exclusion act.

Pearl Buck and China

[Pearl Buck's] article, "The People Will Be Free," in the UNITED NATIONS WORLD (December), offers the best solution of the Chinese problem and our responsibility that I have seen. Indeed, it is now about the only possible hope at this last moment. I have written President Truman today urging its acceptance as a good chance out of a terrible dilemma. I have also written the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette urging the great value and timeliness of your plans.

J. G. MASTERS
Smethport, Pa.

The U in the United Nations

Trygve Lie has written: "It is the hope of all of us who have been associated with the creation and the activities of the United Nations that the organization will have the personal support of individual men and women throughout the world."

Personal support—from school spirit to patriotism—is expressed largely through things which appeal to the senses: slogans we can repeat, tunes we hear and sing . . . flags we see. Such things have far more appeal than abstract ideas. They are needed for effective support.

Therefore, as part of our program to develop personal support of the UN, . . . the United Nations Citizenship League recommends the flying of UN flags in public buildings. Our movement, which has rapidly spread to five continents, is striving to have this custom spread.

We request that you encourage and support our efforts in every possible way.

S. RAYMOND DUNN
United Nations Citizenship League, Inc.
Baltimore, Md.

Accent on People

Let me congratulate you for your focus on people, their ways and their problems, and also for the admirable brevity and diversity of your articles. It is refreshing to discover a magazine whose aim is the effective promotion of world community (even if it involves the employment of humor), rather than the publication of erudite, pretentious treatises on obscure phases of global politics.

ALAN J. STRAUSS
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Psychologically Pro . . .

Herbert Harris' provocative article, "A New Science of Psycho-Economics" (UNW, October, 1948), has induced me to . . . point out . . . that, unless emotional allegiance is first based upon sound understanding of the natural laws of economics as applied to economic relationships, such emotional allegiance can be most unstable, and easily diverted by semantically potent demagogues and pseudo-economists.

The emotionally unstable individual is only too ready to adopt the ideas of the collectivist, as it offers him some minimum of security. The ego-centric power-seeking individual finds emotional satisfaction in our so-called monopoly capitalism which permits him certain privileges denied to others. He thinks that is "free enterprise."

I should also like to observe that an important reason labor leader and management find such difficulty in "bargaining" together is that neither are aware that no conflict actually exists between them. Both are emotionally tied to the fallacious Marxian assumptions to which the world has

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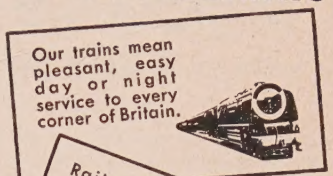

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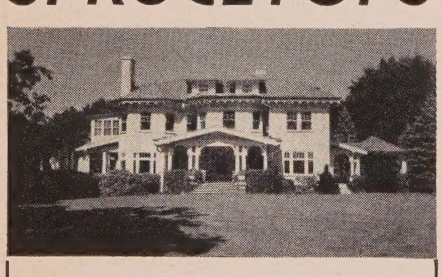

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Letters *continued*

been exposed for a hundred years. Labor-management relations can improve only to the extent that both are willing and able to understand the fundamental natural laws of economics.

This educational process is similar to what the psychiatrist uses to clear the emotional blocs, prejudices and frustrations which cripple his patient. When the patient has learned "how he got that way," he is then able to live more happily and productively with his fellow man. Without such knowledge his struggle to "co-operate," to show considerate regard for other human beings is futile and frustrating.

I would like to go one step further in the science of Psycho-Economics than you have gone, and that is to use the techniques which the psychiatrist has used as a means to obtain mental health as an equally effective means to acquire economic health.

GEOFFREY W. ESTY, M.D.
Westfield, New Jersey

. . . And Con

. . . There are volumes of giddy platitudes in circulation these days, verbal and on the printed page, dealing with animosity and "Hate." Academically, they are considered despicable traits or habits. What is overlooked by most contemporaries, who deal with the problem in various fashions, is the fact that not only are these traits possessed universally, they are deeply rooted in the soil of America. . . .

. . . It seems to me that the human mind should be brought a great deal closer to this modern world, generally. But what should be and what is to be are two irreconcilable entities. The human mind cannot be re-oriented merely because the world has suddenly become modern. The past has molded the brain . . . and the archaic past is a part of even the most progressive of us.

We are not all economic Christians; we were not yesterday and we will not all be tomorrow. We cannot afford even to think of ourselves as such because it would be to admit a weakness incompatible to prolonged existence. . . . The federal government, yes, is a glorious example of a big, hypocritical "economic Christian" who cannot for long "rob Peter to pay Paul." With high taxes, expensive labor and government intervention in the administration of his affairs, the tractor manufacturer in Illinois thinks little and cares less of the rising standard of living in Indo-China and higher wages for 50 million Frenchmen.

. . . The increasingly narrow gap between business and government has presented a problem—to business not government. I do not believe that control of business is a legitimate function of government. The more the government controls, the larger the government becomes. The larger the government, the smaller the people. It is sheer foolhardiness for anyone to believe that the people wish our productive capacity and prosperity to be shattered by the merger of two forces; there is no doubt as to which force would be the controlling factor. Some would call this arrangement "progress" or "social d mocracy." It would be socialism and a honest folk know it.

. . . There is no future for America tha need be feared. You call it one "that n one can prevent from happening." In lool ing at the future, over the longer term, might profess to see a great deal. Tha however, is of no importance for but r cently the "people have spoken" and i doing so, issued a vote of confidence to ou present economic policies.

Happily, I do not feel that your apath is shared by the majority of the people. assert that if enough Americans, in suff cient time, fear the same thing, recogniz the potential repercussions to be suffere by various "blue sky" practices, the shi can be kept clear of the shoals and in th fairway where she belongs.

EDWARD E. TAYLOR
Los Angeles, California

Correction

In the December issue of UNITED NATION WORLD there was published an article b Camille Gutt, Director of the Internationa Monetary Fund, entitled "Your Bread an Butter . . . and the Baby's Shoes." On section of this article explained the worl ings of a Fund mission in a hypothetica country. In editing, this section was mad to imply that Monetary Fund exper would solicit advice not only from th member nations' officials but from privat sources. It is always the prerogative of th member nation whose economy is being i vestigated to call in private experts. Th Editors, desirous of forestalling any misu derstanding, are glad to publish this co rection.

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SWISS LANDSCAPE—snow, skiers, glacier and soaring mountain top.

*On duty at the General Assembly in Paris.

UN WORLD
THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

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Paradox of Peace

flourishing among tensions

BY THE EDITORS

THE most significant element in international affairs, as 1948 ends, is the prevailing belief in high governmental and UN circles that war is not imminent. The most remarkable element is the paradox that this relaxation of war fear has accompanied aggravation of the tensions between East and West in Berlin.

The validity of these observations has been borne out by information from authoritative sources in numerous capitals and on all continents. In almost every one of them chancellery personnel are working round the clock, reviewing and forecasting, projecting the lights and shadows of 1948 upon the New Year.

The answer both UNW's sources and its Editors find to the anomaly of snowballing tensions and thriving peace prospects in Berlin is this: Both Washington and Moscow have become fully aware of the strong opposition of the smaller powers of the world to any policy which might lead to war, whatever its justifications might be. When UNW predicted (June, 1948) that there would be no war in 1948, many key diplomatic contacts thought that the Editors were too optimistic and they were told, frankly, that they were sticking their necks out too far. However, today these same people are suggesting that UNW could safely make the same prediction for the whole of 1949 and at least for the first four months of 1950.

The Editors, however, feel that it is impossible, as yet, to assess realistically the balance sheet of the international situation before the following five questions are answered:

1. What specific steps will President Truman take in order to implement his previously expressed desire for bold measures (such as the Vinson mission) to force the Kremlin openly either to accept or reject a major settlement?

2. How will the Kremlin react to the reports of the 14 major study committees of the Politbureau which have just handed in their findings not only on the strength and weakness of Communists and pro-Soviet forces all over the world, but also on the progress of economic reconstruction within the Soviet Union and within other nations of the Soviet bloc?

3. What are the findings of the Soviet General Staff, and what is the reaction of the Politbureau, to the strategic and political situation created in the Balkans by the Tito-Cominform rift? It is now accepted in high Soviet circles that the Soviet Union must either eliminate the Tito regime by force or accept within the Soviet bloc the presence of a nation that flouts the decisions of the Kremlin and thus constitutes a weak sector on both the political and military fronts.

4. How rapidly and, above all, how completely can an effective Western Union and a full-fledged military North Atlantic Defense Union be established? Political and military observers agree that both of these major undertakings can have a decisive influence on world events only if they are implemented by means of an unlimited and unqualified coordination of economic and military resources.

5. How much will the increasing support of world public opinion behind the UN help to shape the policies of the major powers, and how successful will be the attempts by such countries as Australia and New Zealand, Mexico and Colombia to allay international tension?

As the Third Assembly, first part, adjourned, only one super-sensitive area remains exposed among the nerve centers of potential military crisis: Berlin. The other danger points did not present an acute problem as to peace or war.

■ Among the situations eliminated from the immediate war-provoking stage is that of Greece. The chances of General Markos Vafiades being recognized by the members of the Soviet block have dwindled into insignificance. Yugoslavia has definitely ceased to be safe rear guard territory for Greek guerrillas. The influence of the UN Special Balkan Committee has substantially increased and no large scale international military complications are any longer expected from that area.

■ A few months ago, Palestine, because of the many interests involved, ran the risk of becoming a center of anarchy, open to intervention from many diverse quarters. But there too, the fires have been, at least temporarily, banked.

■ Even though relations between the governments of the Netherlands and the Indonesian Republic have deteriorated almost to the point of an open break, the likelihood of large-scale military operations or international military intervention decreased during the autumn months to a low mark—but negotiations did not promise early agreement and the possibility of unilateral action by the

THOUGH BERLIN REMAINS A SORE SPOT,
UNW'S 'HAZARDOUS' FORECAST OF JUNE, 1948
BECOMES EVERYBODY'S REASSURANCE BY JANUARY, 1949

Dutch to establish an Indonesian Federation threatens new hostilities.

■ In Kashmir, however, the localized warfare between India and Pakistan, which had harbored manifold hazards for Asia and the world, has been reduced to small-scale engagements. Prospects are that the UN mission there may not only be able to freeze the stalemate but eventually reach a lasting solution.

■ China, as a result of Communist military successes, has become the critical focus of danger in the Far East and presents a particularly grave political and military dilemma. (For prediction and analyses of the present situation in China see State of the World, two articles by Pearl Buck and one by Dr. Gerald Winfield, UNW September, October and December, 1948)

One very dangerous possibility which could have converted the Chinese crisis into a serious international complication was averted when the US made it clear that it would not undertake even limited military intervention to save the Chiang regime.

■ Thus only Berlin remains as the exposed, quivering nerve center of peace. Here both the Russian blockade and the Western airlift not only continue but each is being constantly perfected. Most leaders of the UN were at one with the world public in their disappointment that a compromise on Berlin, which seemed close early in November, failed despite the patient efforts of Security Council President Juan Bramuglia of Argentina. If not solved, the Berlin situation is nonetheless better than before the attempts to settle were made. This is partly due to the influence of public opinion (see page 7) but the world must credit also the unprecedented iron discipline of the Soviet and Western military commanders.

New precedents in the subordination of military to political leadership are being established every day in Berlin. Consider: Here is a city in which are stationed bodies of heavily armed men whose nations are engaged in a bitter struggle. The men are cooped up in a boring, dull and gloomy environment. Though separated by street-wide boundaries, points of contact and friction constantly develop between them. These men are, moreover, constantly excited and/or exasperated by intrigues and counterintrigues of a local population full of fanatics. Into this city flies in endless formation, a moving bridge of great bomber and transport planes—over territory held by the opponent power, along narrow airlines, at rigidly fixed altitudes above and below which the opponent's air force and army train and maneuver. . . .

In the past, in such a situation, some action by a hothead would have been bound to flare into military incidents leading to war. By comparing the Berlin situation to that of 1914, when the assassination of an Austrian archduke was the pretext for the start of World War I, it is easy to see the prodigious change which has occurred.

In Berlin men have died, been abducted, military aircraft have gone down in flames—but the iron discipline of the political over the military authority has prevented open conflict.

THE NEW ABC OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

The international situation today, of which Berlin is only a part, is without doubt the most complex in history. And basic in the complexity are three factors: (1) Ideological concerns have superseded military. (2) International economic considerations have come to outrank questions of domestic economy. (3) Both have dwarfed desire, or necessity, for territorial expansion.

In consequence, the future course of the world will depend very much on how the increasing political awareness of peoples—all of whom desire peace—will influence their governments. Much will also depend on how the leading personalities in the various UN bodies, particularly the President of the General Assembly, the Secretary General, and the President of the Security Council, will use their ever-growing moral and political influence to foster a lessening of tension without loss of prestige for East or West.

The most effective demonstration of what the UN diplomat can do was given by Security Council President Bramuglia at Paris. Using the authority of his office more effectively than it had ever been employed before, he became the center of world political activity aiming at peace. The Bramuglia example has aroused new aspirations among other UN leaders. The world will see more of such initiatives for peace in new and surprising moves in the future.

The Tibetan View of Israel

TIBET: Until a short time ago fewer than one Tibetan in ten thousand took any interest in the outside world. Today the work done by the United Nations has begun to attract attention in Tibet. A non-political publication read by thousands of educated and influential Tibetans and Mongols, has made two recent comments on UN efforts to promote world peace. One referred to steps taken by the Honorable-Delegate-Group of the Whole-World-General-Assembly (United Nations Commission) to end the war in Kashmir about which literate Tibetans are informed (UNW, November, 1948). (Actually, of course, the "Honorable - Delegate-Group" is not composed of delegates —who represent individual nations —but of men sworn to uphold the UN. Moreover the Kashmir-Pakistan Commission is a body created by the Security Council and not the General Assembly.)

On the Palestine Conflict, the same publication says: "There is trouble between the Jewish people, to whom the parents of Christ, the teacher, once belonged, and the Muslim Arabs. The Whole-World-General-Assembly is making a great effort to re-establish peace. For hundreds of years, the Jewish people were scattered all over the world and under alien domination, but as time went on, they began to escape from their bonds. Particularly persecution of the Jews by Ger-Hi-te-lar (Hitler, the German) added vigor to moves made to ensure return of many Jews to Palestine, their former country. Then friction with the Arabs developed. Palestine was split in two, but the cutting up of countries, as has been seen elsewhere, does not always do much good. Now the Whole-World-General-Assembly is working hard to extinguish the flames of distrust and hostility."

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Why the readers of UN WORLD are abreast with—and ahead of—international news

AS FAR BACK AS OCTOBER, 1947, when the world's attention was primarily focused upon Europe, UNW insisted that, in terms of global problems, "The Asiatic Century is Upon Us" (article by Robert Payne, UNW October 1947, page 41).

AS FAR BACK AS NOVEMBER, 1947, at a time when the world was predicting civil war in Italy, UNW stated flatly that there would be "No Revolution in Italy," (article by Louis Dolivet, UNW November 1947, page 35).

In that same issue, when virtually all of the world's press proclaimed the inevitable death of the UN, the UNW affirmed "The UN is Here to Stay" (editorial, UNW November 1947, page 64), a conviction which Russia's refusal to withdraw at Paris last fall made general.

Incidentally, as far back as May, UNW predicted specifically that Russia would not withdraw from the UN: "Why No War" (editorial by Louis Dolivet, May 1948).

AS FAR BACK AS JANUARY, 1948, the UNW pierced the Iron Curtain, and reported the rumblings of discontent inside the Soviet bloc: "Eastern Europe Changes the Party Line," (State of the World, UNW January 1948, page 49).

When the predicted Tito-Cominform break came in July, UNW reported the circumstances which made it inevitable and predicted that the schism would establish a second Communist camp—forecasts which are now being accepted as established by other experts writing on the subject "Inside Story—the Tito Crisis" (State of the World, UNW August 1948, page 2).

AS FAR BACK AS JUNE, 1948, when war rumors engulfed Washington, Moscow, London and other capitals, the UNW calmly asserted that there would be "No War in 1948," (State of the World, UNW June, page 1).

AS FAR BACK AS AUGUST, 1948, six weeks before the Moscow negotiations among the Four Great Powers ended in failure, the UNW strongly urged that the Berlin crisis be brought before the UN, a course of action eventually confirmed by events ("Berlin's Only Open Road," an editorial by Louis Dolivet, UNW August 1948, page 64).

In that same issue, six weeks before the opening of the UN General Assembly, the UNW pointed out that the Eastern and Western blocs would face a major showdown: "East-West Cold War—Crux at Paris," (State of the World, UNW August 1948, page 1).

In the same issue, UNW predicted the attempt of the Franco government to gain admission into the UN: ("Pro-Franco Offensive Will Be Staged," State of the World, UNW August 1948, page 1)

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***World problems—which are everybody's now and becoming more so**

No Barricades at Flushing Meadow

THE POLITICAL BATTLE OF ALL THE CENTURIES
WILL BE JOINED THERE WHEN VERNAL APRIL
AND THE ASSEMBLY'S SECOND PART RETURN TO NEW YORK

THE biggest political battle in the history of the world will be fought next April at Flushing Meadow in New York. At that time, the General Assembly, adjourned on December 12, will meet in what, in the legalistic, technical language of the organization, is called "the second part of the third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations."

John Foster Dulles, Eleanor Roosevelt and Benjamin V. Cohen—veteran United States delegates at the Assembly—returned from Paris with the conviction that the US, or any other country, can win the good will of the world only within the arena of the United Nations. More clearly than ever before (UNW, September), the UN assumes the stature of the supreme moral force and political influence of our time.

The Americans are not alone in recognizing this. Andrei Vyshinsky, in his final salvo at Paris, made it clear that the Soviets, too, recognize that the battle will be renewed with greater fury in the April session. Vyshinsky, and Moscow, recognize as well as the Americans that three-fourths of the inhabitants of our earth (the 1500 million individuals who have not yet taken sides between the East and the West) will decide their allegiance on the performance of West and East within the UN.

The attitude of these three top US delegates—who are determined to carry their own conviction to the leading elements of the administration, of Congress and of American public opinion—has already been expounded to the President at considerable length by Secretary Marshall, within a few minutes after he stepped off the plane from Paris.

Because the fight will be for human hearts and minds by humans, the personal quality and characteristics of the antagonists assume particular importance for those who would understand the coming battle of words, ideas and emotions.

MRS. ROOSEVELT GETS TOUGH AND EUROPE ADMIRES HER FOR IT

Mrs. Roosevelt, already recognized as a great woman, became still greater at the Paris session of the General Assembly. Her new prestige is based on ability to learn and to grow. At Paris she added to her character as a working idealist the attributes of a very stubborn political realist, a hard-hitting technician in debate, sharp with repartee, and she even became a strong lobbyist. Her statement—that she would devote the rest of her life to the UN—made a profound impression in Europe, where the people have come to accept her as practical, not one who would stay with an organization that did not have a meaningful and pragmatic future.

VYSHINSKY'S UN CHORE BECOMES AN IMPORTANT MISSION

Even more interesting than the American expectancy of long life for the UN is the conversion to this view of Vyshinsky, that tough talker whose dramatic mannerisms constantly remind one of his career as a prosecutor. According to most reliable information, the Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR a year or two ago attached relatively little importance to the UN, and considered his visits to the General Assembly more or less in the nature of a necessary chore imposed upon him by Mr. Molotov.

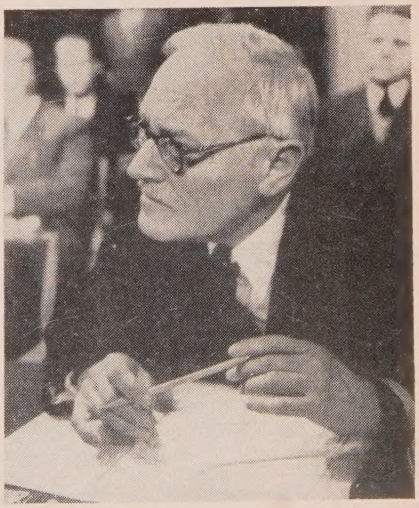
Vyshinky believes that there is a good chance for the Soviet bloc to win world suport for the Eastern Idea. He argues that the fact that the USSR is defeated so often in the General Assembly or in the Security Council does not really hurt his country in the eyes of world public opinion. After all, he points out, the West and particularly the US, have a "guaranteed majority."

What is important, he maintains—and other Russians cite their own past successes and traditions to buttress the argument—is that Russia establish herself as the champion of man's right to live peacefully, productively and prosperously. To achieve that, Vyshinksy believes, they need only be constantly at hand to rebut Western arguments and, in so doing, convince the "unaffiliated" peoples that Russia is the world's defense against Fascism, that it attacks Fascism and the remnants of Fascism wherever they are found; that it fights for the freedom of the colonial peoples; that it constantly champions peace and disarmament; that it leads the world in demanding an agreement to forbid the use of the atomic bomb and to destroy existing stocks.

THE MANEUVER SNAPPED SHUT ON MR. MANUILSKY

Among the Soviet delegates, Ukraine's Foreign Minister Dmitri Z. Manuilsky has held the views Vyshinsky now propounds for a long time. Manuilsky is, unhappily, in the position of a man who sees his forte taken over by

VYSHINSKY CHANGED HIS MIND



State of the World *continued*

another. Until his appointment as the Ukraine's Foreign Minister, Manuilsky had hoped to become eventually the main Soviet spokesman. This plan, however, misfired when he was appointed Foreign Minister of the Soviet Ukraine. Automatically, when he accepted that post, he also became chief of the Ukrainian delegation.

As a result, what appeared at the time to be merely a purely opportunistic move to gain another vote for the Soviet bloc has left Manuilsky stuck with his Ukrainian representation, constantly playing second fiddle to whoever heads the Russian UN delegation, and scarcely outranking the comparative neophytes who head the other Soviet delegations. Without question there is frustration and chagrin for him—Manuilsky, the veteran creative mind of the Comintern—to be relegated to the position of a Polish or Czech representative.

Some of the delegates of the Western powers, who know well from previous debates in the first sessions of the General Assembly the incisive thinking, oratorical brilliance and the sharp tongue of Mr. Manuilsky, are rather pleased by his predicament. They prefer the more heavy-handed Russians as opponents.

The chain-smoking, nervous and always impeccably dressed Manuilsky, however, is not without hope. He is inclined to believe that, now that Prime Minister Stalin is taking greater personal interest in the UN, it may be that he will insist that the most capable delegates attend the next session in April. Manuilsky may get his chance then.

MR. McNEIL AND MR. ATTLEE DEPRECIATE THE HURLY BURLY

The delegation to leave Paris with the dimmest view of the UN was that of the United Kingdom. Young Hector McNeil had been expected to lead Britain away from the stale salt-flats of old-fashioned military alliances and power politics into the greener meadows of international action and co-operation. It develops that Mr. McNeil is not set on breaking with the past. Neither is he amused by the squabbles and quarrels which spice UN meetings—this despite the fact that he is quite at ease in debate and a master of the oral counter-punch. Some opponents, in fact, complained at Paris that McNeil's verbal thwacks are, at times, too hard.

Mr. McNeil feels—and his opinion is shared by Prime Minister Attlee—that there is too much time lost at UN meetings. He personally would prefer to be stationed at home in the Foreign Office where, he is sure, the lasting careers are being made. The British delegation, in consequence, will report to the Prime Minister and Cabinet what Britain thought it knew before—that attendance at the first

BRAMUGLIA PLANNED A TRIUMP

part of the third Assembly was, to certain extent, a waste of time.

However, the Attlee-McNeil vie is not shared by all British leade Many of them know that the ma value of the UN lies not in this that technical decision or in unanii ity on a resolution, but is measur by the political and moral influen it wields over world public opinio

SCHUMAN LEARNS THE ROPES AND FRANCE PLANS A NEW FUTUI

Foreign Minister Robert Schum has become a UN adept in the cour of the Assembly. At first, as Prir Minister designate, he went to the U in a hesitant mood. Not an orat and lacking experience with inte national meetings and their comp cated protocol, he did not feel qu at ease. But in the two and a ha months the Assembly lasted, he ma tered the techniques of working wit in the UN and became increasing committed to its support.

One factor which impressed t French delegation stemmed not fr the UN itself but from briefings the French Foreign Office. Unc Jean Chauvel, permanent Secreta General of the Foreign Office and real power there, these meetings we transformed from routine chores in exciting affairs of state—the cataly agent being the flashing wit Chauvel's sharp, realistic mind.

The French delegation genera is elated about the favorable mo toward France in which the de

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gates left the temporary world capital. They are happy about the fact that technical arrangements in the Palais de Chaillot, hotel and feeding problems, and even transportation functioned almost perfectly. They feel that their handling of such details refuted at long last the libel that the French are graceful but inefficient, hard workers but bad organizers. They prefer to forget—and hope others will—the inconvenience caused during the first 10 days by delay in getting the Palais ready. The weather, during a large part of the Assembly, was wonderful. Paris appeared at its best to the representatives of the other 57 countries. Not of least importance to the French is the evidence that the General Assembly promoted, and will promote, tourist business. France has undoubtedly regained its reputation as the most alluring place to have fun and superlative food, to discover a gracious way of living which is disappearing elsewhere—provided one has hard currency in one's pocket.

More importantly, the Assembly—and the techniques developed in the debates—have spurred a number of shrewd diplomats in the French Foreign Office to press for a top-notch French UN delegation composed of experts. These diplomats want such experts to be versatile, and widely informed, to have comprehensive documentation at their disposal and to speak brilliantly.

By thus developing a superior French representation at the meetings of the UN, these observers feel, France could regain a considerable part of her lost political prestige and world leadership. The French are particularly impressed with the fact that, in many controversial situations, especially that of Palestine, they have already restored the position which French statesmen have always preferred—that of mediation. In the newly-established Conciliation Commission on Palestine, France stands near the middle and holds the balance between the US, presumed to be pro-Israel, and Turkey, presumed to be pro-Arab. This circumstance revives the hope that France will reestablish its traditional status of referee in international affairs.

The Frenchman's Cartesian thinking, his logic—and frequently his charm—are very persuasive. If the French Foreign Office concentrates on these qualities in the selection of its representatives, it can send a very strong delegation to the Flushing Meadow session in April. This, in turn, could lead to the creation of a permanent UN under-secretariat in the Foreign Office to deal specifically with UN and related matters.

As present thinking goes in Paris, the delegation may be composed of top-notch French statesmen who could make use of their proximity to Washington during their stay in New York for frequent trips to the US capital to deal with the President, the Cabinet and the new Congress. This, they feel, would be much better received in Washington than closely-spaced visits of emissaries from France.

SPANISH EARNS PRIMARY STATUS AS THE LATINS LEARN TO VOTE

Argentina's Juan Bramuglia and Chile's Hernan Santa Cruz undertook at Paris to strengthen the Latin bloc in a strengthened UN. Constantly building unity among the Latin American delegates, caucusing, planning their moves, they exemplified the unspoken motto: "One Latin American country is not important, but 20 votes are a massive block among 58."

On their departure from Paris they were the most elated of all delegates. Casting their 20 votes as a bloc, bargaining with other blocs, they had acquired a measure of power and were taking home with them a symbol of their success—adoption of the Spanish language as one of the working languages of the UN, a very great triumph by the delegates.

Previously, Spanish had been only one of the five official languages. Now it is brought to a place equal with English and French. Its sponsors feel that not only will Spanish language and culture benefit from this new dignity but they expect the influence of Spanish-speaking delegations to be increased. They also expect hundreds of jobs to open up for Spanish-speaking individuals—interpreters, precis writers, etc.

As a consequence of the Spanish success, the Russians and Chinese are determined to exert the utmost pressure during the April and September sessions this year to have those two tongues also approved as UN working languages.

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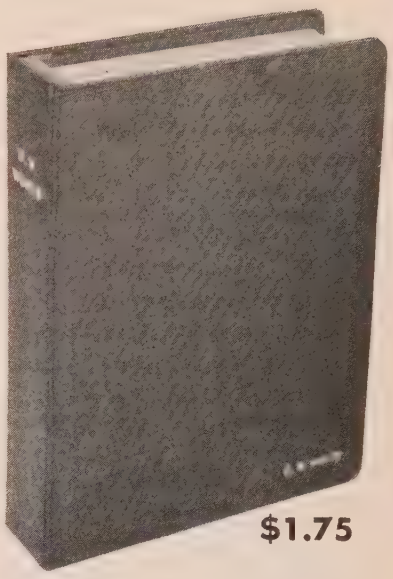

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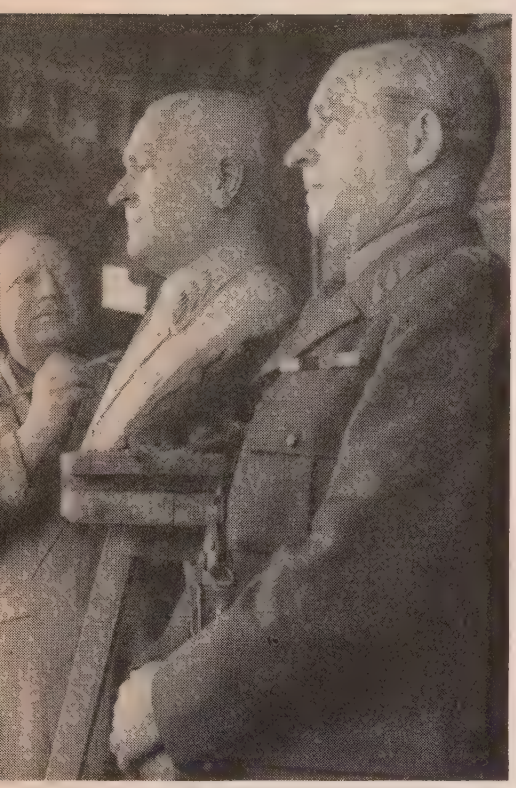


JUNG POSES FOR OSCAR JOHANNESSON

IF THERE IS A THIRD WORLD WAR

IT WILL OCCUR IN THE NORTH

AND SCANDINAVIA

WILL BE THE FIRST VICTIM

Gen. Helge V. Jung is the "strong man" of Sweden. The statements he makes in the article on these pages, written exclusively for UNITED NATIONS WORLD, are significant both because of the author's status and because of what can be inferred from them.

The Editors of UNW, without presuming to unveil General Jung's mind more than he himself does in his comments, merely note that Sweden is *not* apparently planning an *increase* in her armaments and is *not* planning an attempt to defend *all Sweden* in case of war.

BY GENERAL HELGE JUNG

Commander in Chief of the Swedish Army

WHEN THE last World War was brought to an end more than three years ago, we all hoped for a real and lasting peace. This hope has not been fulfilled. The understanding among the great allies during the war has been broken. Instead, dissensions of political, economic, and strategic character have led to a dividing of the world into two opposite blocs.

Because of this split, the peace has been threatened again—even before a formal state of peace has been established everywhere.

The economic rehabilitation of the world has been hampered through the cold war.

Behind the iron curtain in the Eastern zone, the silent war continues, and in the midst of the European Continent Germany is still an open infected wound, hindering and complicating recovery.

Much has been speculated about Sweden's and Scandinavia's position between the two blocs. In our country no one wants war. Accusations which, from time to time, are made concerning Swedish intentions or plans are constantly discredited. Least of all do those want war who have made a thorough study of what a future war would involve.

All seem to agree, nonetheless, that there is risk of Sweden being brought into a new war. This ought to be sufficient to convince Swedes of the necessity of strengthening the nation's defenses, and our love for freedom ought to be enough to spur us on. The real value of freedom stands out more clearly now than ever before, viewed against the background offered by the treatment given to occupied countries during and after the last World War.

The increasingly total character of war, in combination with the brutalization of the fighting methods, even against the civil population, is a de cided regression from a cultural an humanitarian viewpoint, and consti tutes a menace for all humanity. W can only deplore this tendency. Fo it is not *we* who are making the law of war. These are determined by th technical progress throughout th world and the spiritual and moral de velopment within leading nations.

We can be sure that an aggresso will do everything to make his at tack as total as possible. Scientifi progress has made this an easier task Technical developments have resulte in the most terrible and formidabl new weapons of destruction. The in creased effectiveness of the air force as well as the creation and develop ment of other and more effectiv long-distance warfare methods hav also added to these possibilities.

The following is the sequence i which we can anticipate that a futur total war would develop:

- A widely organized and recklessl acting espionage system will give th aggressor his opportunity to start blitz war at points where he can mos effectively strike vital military an economic centers.
- Sabotage will be employed on larger scale than ever before wit even more effective means.
- With these methods and throug systematic destruction of commun cations, the attacker will make it di ficult or impossible for the govern ment or military leaders to act effec tively.
- Through clever and skillful propa ganda—especially the spreading o false rumors—the aggressor will ur

SEQUENCE OF CONQUEST IN A WORLD WAR III

1—Infiltration of spies

2—Infiltration of saboteurs

3—Simultaneous sabotage and attac
- **by atomic bombs**
- **by bacteria and chemicals**
- **by continuing sabotage**

4—Ruthless occupation

dermine the moral resistance power of the defenders.

■ More ruthless methods than before will be used in the treatment of populations of occupied countries.

Warfare of tomorrow would be a horror in itself, but its possible consequences would be even more horrible. The nation that cannot in the long run defend itself and has not taken care to look for help in time, will undergo destruction of the kind which—perhaps because of inertia, perhaps because of wishful thinking —we cannot even fathom. Such a tragedy would make life itself miserable for all, unbearable for many.

When we now face the fact that another war may come and realize its terrifying meaning for us all, we ought to set about putting our house in order in all seriousness, and prepare ourselves in case it does come. The development which for us would be most dangerous is that Sweden would be attacked by one of the great powers—before the outbreak of general hostilities. Such a development is possible, even if we do not want to face it as probable.

Our people, who during four generations have enjoyed unbroken peace, must concentrate defense measures on creating the capacity to endure the first hard blows.

If the defense is not to collapse during the first days or weeks of the attack, it has to be thoroughly prepared on all fronts where the aggressor might strike. The defender must not only have the necessary technical skill but also a strong will to resist, founded and developed in peacetime as far as this is possible. The will to resist, lawfulness and willingness to sacrifice life itself for the common good, are the qualities which have always been demanded of a soldier and constitute good soldier morale. Total defense against total war will require this morale among all.

Total defense, prepared within the military forces and the civil defense organization, as well as in the economic defense, will make it possible for the nation to endure even a long period of isolation. Moral and spiritual preparedness will give the population the necessary stamina to carry out their defense. Not least, psychological armaments must be planned in time of peace, so as to soften the blows and shocks that will be felt in the very beginning of a new total war—especially in the large cities.

But even with the best defense preparations, it is clearly obvious that Sweden alone could not in the long run defend itself successfully. The need for military aid from the outside is recognized by all authorities. If such aid is to be effective, it must come while possibilities still exist to offer the helping forces relatively sheltered bases on territory from which the aggressor can be fought and driven out of the country.

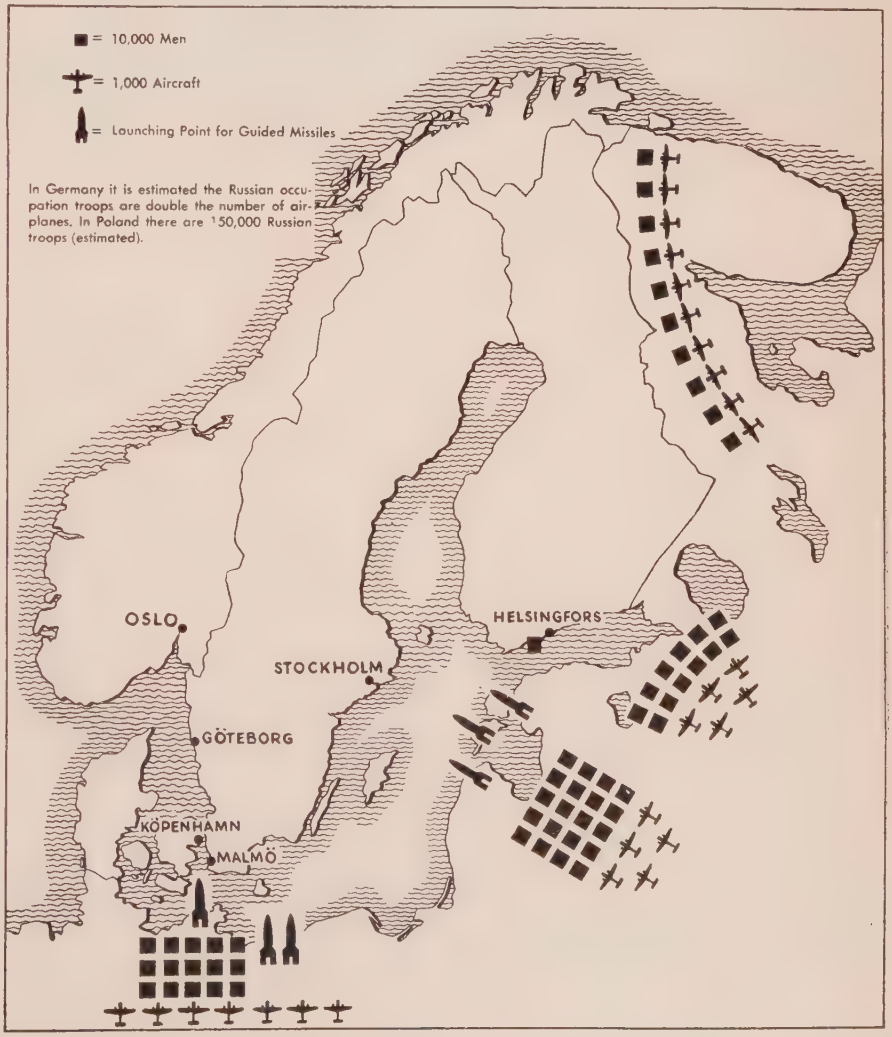
Strong ties unite the people of Sweden with those of Denmark and Norway, and our government's deliberation of a common Nordic defense program has generally been received with satisfaction and approval. It is of great importance to Sweden's defense that our Nordic neighbors, Norway and Denmark, strengthen their military forces, partly destroyed by war and as yet not sufficient.

The stronger our own defenses are, the better are the chances that military aid can reach us in time. Only if our people are united and well prepared to fight back can we count on aid to reach us swiftly and in time.

An elementary factor is, and will continue to be, that every able-bodied Swede shall receive a top-notch military course and keep in training. Now is certainly not the proper time to reduce either length of training periods or the number of trainees.

It is therefore of utmost importance for us to retain our present strength both as regards materiel and personnel. The mounting danger makes it, in my opinion, also vital to strengthen our defenses.

WHAT SWEDES THINK THEY KNOW ABOUT THE 'RUSSIAN THREAT'


■ = 10,000 Men
= 1,000 Aircraft
= Launching Point for Guided Missiles
In Germany it is estimated the Russian occupation troops are double the number of airplanes. In Poland there are 150,000 Russian troops (estimated).
OSLO
STOCKHOLM
HELSINGFORS
GÖTEBORG
KÖPENHAMN
MALMÖ

A SWEDISH COLONEL released this map to UNW's Senior Editor Ladislas Farago in Stockholm. It shows how well- (or ill-) informed the Swedes are about Soviet guided missiles and other military supersecrets.

THIN, AGING, WRONGLY-INFORMED, ROOSEVELT IS GREETED BY MOLOTOV. HIS DRIVER IS AN NKVD OFFICER

The Inside Stor

EDITOR'S NOTE—

Much of the political image of today's world was shaped at the Yalta Conference. The controversy about the merits or demerits of the Roosevelt-Churchill acceptance of Russian demands in Eastern Europe, as compensation for full fledged Soviet participation in the war against Japan, is getting headlines in many parts of the world. This article by Admiral Zacharias will do a great deal to help clarify the issues behind the debate. It seems evident that the urgencies of military strategy, as put forward by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, were the determining elements in the decision as it was finally reached.

OF LATE, the word "Munich" has all but disappeared under an avalanche of postwar revelations and recriminations. Instead, "Yalta," the popular label for the Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin conference held in that Crimean city to set the broad plans for the final stages of the war, has become, in some quarters, the synonym for appeasement and international skullduggery.

A great deal has been written about Yalta—often aiming to prove that Stalin is a knave and Roosevelt was a fool. It should be pointed out that Mr. Churchill, the third negotiator at Yalta during the crucial days from February 4-11, 1945, is not one of those who have written thus of his confrères.

It is also of interest that Mr. Churchill, though his role at Yalta was a somewhat ambiguous one, is not placed in the pillory by the lesser men now writing, despite the fact that it was his attitude toward recognition of the Curzon Line in Poland that forced Roosevelt reluctantly to accept Stalin's Polish terms. Again it was Churchill's indifference toward China that, in the final analysis, led to United States acquiescence in

Neither Sell Out Nor Blunder

THREE REPORTS WERE WRITTEN TO BRIEF THE PRESIDENT

TWO OF THEM CORRECTLY ESTIMATED NO NEED FOR RUSSIAN HELP

THE PESSIMISTIC ESTIMATE OF THE THIRD

PERSUADED HIM TO MAKE THE DEAL FOR AID AGAINST JAPAN

BY REAR ADMIRAL ELLIS M. ZACHARIAS, USN (Ret.)
Former Deputy Chief, Office of Naval Intelligence

f Yalta

Russia's Far Eastern designs.

Mr. Churchill, with his customary chivalry, will undoubtedly clear up his part in the Yalta conference when, in the course of his memoirs, he reaches that point. But there is one Yalta decision which he did not influence and will not be qualified to explain. It is a single item on the Conference's agenda—yet an item of overwhelming significance in any objective appraisal of the moods, achievements and consequences of the Crimea Conference.

It was the question of Soviet participation in the Pacific war.

The rather low place this item was given on the Yalta agenda does not reflect the exceptionally high priority it had in the minds of those Americans who sat around the conference table in the refurbished ballroom of Livadia Palace.

Any one reading the verbatim transcript of the Conference must be struck by the small amount of discussion devoted to this subject. Poland's case was thrashed out in eternal argument. Even the vote of Byelo-Russia in the as yet unborn international organization received thousands of words of tepid debate.

But no one seemed eager to discuss *one* item of the agenda. When mentioned at all, it was treated gingerly, in circumspect words, in haphazard subsidiary sentences, in oblique references — as if no one really cared to bring up the matter. In reality, Americans—and possibly Russians—were thinking of little else than Japan.

This beating about the bush caused an unscheduled extension of the Conference. It was planned to conclude the conversations on February 10, draft a declaration on that day and then adjourn. But now the last day was drawing to its close and *the* subject was still unsettled.

A last meeting was hastily called. It was the closest and most secretive meeting of them all. It was devoid of drama or fireworks. In but a few words which nevertheless reveal hard. shrewd and unrelenting bargaining, the decision was reached. Judging by his words, Stalin was more solemn than usual. Roosevelt, through his growing exhaustion, showed signs of elation. Churchill hardly opened his mouth.

A 10-paragraph top-secret "Agreement Regarding Japan" was drawn up. Stalin was the first to sign it, then Roosevelt, finally Churchill. The Conference adjourned. A copy of this precious IOU—the written agreement of the USSR to join the war against Japan—was taken to Washington by Lieutenant William M. Rigdon, keeper of the secret papers. There it was separated from the rest of the documents and placed in Mr. Roosevelt's personal safe. Very few of the President's confidants knew about its existence. You do not advertise your intention to go to war lest you be beaten to the punch.

Today's divergent critics of Yalta deal with the subject of Byelo-Russia's extra vote in the UN and Soviet participation in the Pacific war in the same short breath—as if these two matters were identical in significance and consequence. Such a treatment is, of course, nonsense. Even Poland's fate (which, to my mind, was adequately dealt with in Yalta insofar as Mr. Roosevelt is concerned) is vastly inferior to the overriding importance of victory in a difficult two-world war.

Reading between the lines of the Yalta protocols, one is often inclined to recognize this distinction in Roosevelt's and Stalin's attitude to all questions discussed. Their very verbosity on such questions as Poland, reparations, UN procedure, the Dardanelles, Bulgaria was merely a smoke screen to conceal their preoccupation with victory at all cost.

To say, as journalists and others have, that Roosevelt "blundered," that he was "taken in" by Stalin, is

Inside Story of Yalta *continued*

to ignore much that is already known and to presume that what is still unknown will support faulty prejudgment. I have studied carefully what has been published; to that I add information in my possession which —though not classified as secret—is not known to the blunder-mongers. I do this, not to discover whom to "blame" for Roosevelt's Yalta decisions, but to explain those decisions.

At Yalta, diplomacy was fused with the military necessities of the Japanese campaign and Roosevelt proved a masterful co-ordinator of the two. When Stalin underwrote the Pacific war, the President gained for his military advisers on the Joint Chiefs of Staff the one and only concession they expected from Yalta. Eventual Russian participation in the war against Japan was a promissory note the Joint Chiefs had been holding since Teheran, in 1943. Since September, 1944, they had been urging Roosevelt to collect on it. They stood behind him at Yalta, reminding him every day, and urging him in no uncertain terms to present the note—now.

When Stalin at last agreed to honor the note, Roosevelt was relieved. The Joint Chiefs, in their own detached way, were jubilant.

If anybody "blundered" in Yalta at all, it was the Joint Chiefs—but even their "blunder" was most proper under the circumstances. Their decision to bring the USSR into the Pacific war was based on a crucial document drafted in the fall of 1944 by the intelligence section of the War Department General Staff. It provided what the Joint Chiefs regarded as the best estimate of the complex Far Eastern situation. Its pessimism, its exaggeration of Japanese potentialities made Russian participation in the Pacific war seem to them virtually imperative. The Joint Chiefs either had to reject the estimate of their intelligence experts or call for Russian aid. They decided on the latter course and thus unwittingly stampeded Roosevelt into supporting them.

It was an unfortunate and altogether wrong estimate, its authors being deceived by a purely military and quantitative evaluation of the enemy, a treacherous trap into which even the greatest military leaders are likely to fall occasionally.

Later, when I was directed by the Secretary of the Navy to draft an estimate of my own, I found out that the War Department had prepared two estimates rather than one—but somehow, the more accurate and from our point of view optimistic evaluation of Japanese potentialities was pigeonholed by a competitive intelligence outfit in the Assistant Secretary's office which allowed only the pessimistic report to go up to the Joint Chiefs and through them to Roosevelt.

My own estimate—explicitly advising *against* Soviet participation in the Pacific war on the grounds that it was not required by our own military necessities—reached conclusions almost literally identical with the optimistic evaluation of the War Department. It, too, ended up in the same Pentagon pigeon-hole.

In the spring of 1945, our two optimistic estimates were still vainly competing against that impressive report of doom favored by the top level in the Pentagon and the sole guide of the Joint Chiefs. Even in July, 1945, on the eve of Los Alamos and after the defeat of Germany, it was still the basis of a highest-echelon prediction that the war against Japan would last till the fall of 1946 —then approximately 15 months away. Five weeks later the Japanese surrendered unconditionally.

The pessimistic views engendered by this strange estimate radiated to the peripheral activities of the war effort in Washington. Thus, for example, the Office of War Information was prevented from striking a more optimistic tone even after the Los Alamos test revealed the practicability of the A-bomb.

The atmosphere and setting in which the pessimistic estimate of the General Staff was born was unique for wartime Washington. Germany, which had monopolized attention in the Pentagon since March 29, 1941, the date on which the first Allied grand strategic plan known as ABC-1 was drafted, no longer occupied the center of attention. Highest ranking officers began to speak of an "S-Day in Europe"—the day of German surrender. They fixed the date variously, like the day's mileage in a shipboard pool, sometime in November, 1944.

The staff officers who populated the Pentagon knew and cared but little, if anything, about the Far East. Even the Secretary of War remained strangely aloof from the Pacific War as he himself conceded in his memoirs. "These plans did not bear any significant impress from Stimson," he wrote, "who was never directly concerned in the handling of the Pacific strategy."

Who was? It is a question rather difficult to answer. In the rush to finish the war in Europe, the war against Japan was largely brushed aside. It was regarded as MacArthur's show. He enjoyed unusual autonomy. and properly so, for his strategy was superior to the one or two "grand strategic designs" for the land war in the Pacific with which the Pentagon had toyed.

But, late in 1944, S-Day apparently so closely at hand the Pentagon had turned to the Pacific. This new pre-occupation with Japan produced a peculiar atmosphere of uneasiness. Clearly this "new" enemy was different. His battle order contained many puzzling elements. His intentions were inscrutable.

Japan's propaganda of invincibility and tenacity—the phony campaign against capitulation—was believed implicitly by America's military planners despite mounting evidence to the contrary. This propaganda succeeded in confusing even the State Department, which proved as tardy in recognizing the potentialities of our political warfare as the Pentagon in appraising Japan's military weaknesses.

According to the accepted War Department estimate on which Roosevelt acted at Yalta, the total strength of the Japanese Army was about 5,000,000 officers and men. Slightly less than 2,000,000 of them were reported to be in Japan proper; a little more than 2,000,000 in Manchuria, Korea, China and Formosa; over 200,000 in Burma, Thailand and French Indo-China; over 500,000 in the Philippines and the East-Indies area; more than 100,000 on the by-passed Pacific islands.

Such an estimate reflected an unreasonable fascination with quantity and a peculiar disregard for qualitative factors. The conclusions drawn

from it, however, were inescapable. I hope that one day the Joint Chiefs will publish the documents on which their activities were based. The history of the war cannot be properly written until their full record is made available. In the meantime, we are dependent on published sources, but some of them provide an excellent and reliable guide to those unpublished documents.

Thus the letter and spirit of the War Department estimate is well paraphrased by Mr. Henry L. Stimson in his memoirs.

"As we understood it in July, there was a very strong possibility that the Japanese Government might determine upon resistance to the end, in all the areas of the Far East under its control. In such an event the Allies would be faced with the enormous task of destroying an armed force of 5 million men and 5 thousand suicide aircraft, belonging to a race which had already amply demonstrated its ability to fight literally to death.

"The strategic plans of our armed forces for the defeat of Japan, as they stood in July, had been prepared without reliance upon the atomic bomb, which had not yet been tested in New Mexico. We were planning an intensified sea and air blockade, and greatly intensified strategic air bombing, through the summer and early fall, to be followed on November 1 by an invasion of the southern island of Kyushu. [Operation Olympic, an invasion of relatively small forces with a limited objective. E.M.Z.] This would be followed in turn by an invasion of the main island of Honshu in the spring of 1946. [Operation Coronet, aimed at the Tokyo-Yokohama area, E.M.Z.] The total U.S. military and naval force involved in this grand design was of the order of 5,000,000 men, if all those indirectly concerned are included, it was larger still."

The next paragraph, reflecting the conclusions of the Joint Chiefs, provides the most eloquent demonstration of their determination to bring about Russian participation in the Pacific war. Stimson wrote: "We estimated that if we should be forced to carry out this plan to its conclusion, *the major fighting would not end until the latter part of 1946 at the earliest.* [Italics mine—E.M.Z.] I was informed that such operations might be expected to cost over a million casualties, to American forces alone."

The crucial decision to bring Russia into the Pacific war at all cost was chiefly motivated by the Kwantung Army of Japan in Manchuria the strength of which was estimated at more than 1,000,000 combatants. This force was described as "the cream of the Japanese army"—intact in composition, self-contained with its own autonomous command organization, industrial base, political leadership, imperial ambitions.

With such intelligence reports before them, the Joint Chiefs concluded (and General MacArthur concurred) that the Kwantung Army might prolong the war into 1947 and even 1948—unless Russia could be persuaded to join the war and thereby pin down or contain that army in the manner in which they engaged the Wehrmacht in Europe. No estimate really expected the Russians to *defeat* the Kwantung Army, certainly not with the ease with which this defeat was later accomplished.

Part of my own estimate concerning the strength of the Japanese was based on another War Department document—on its remarkable Japanese Order of Battle, a comprehensive and accurate compilation of enemy strength. This Battle Order failed to bear out the pessimistic evaluation. It supported the optimistic estimates.

"Today the war strength of Japan is estimated at about 100 infantry divisions *of the first line,*" I wrote early in 1945 in a report which has since been declassified. "Of these, approximately 30 *combat* divisions are kept in Manchuria, 20 in China, 25 isolated in the South West and Central Pacific, the rest in Japan proper, Korea, Formosa and in the remaining occupied territories. At the outbreak of the war, these divisions were composed of men from the standing army and from the so-called first reserve. *There is reason to believe that despite her low rate of casualties thus far, Japan has already absorbed all males of military age into her armed forces and now depends on reserves of inadequate military aptitude.*

"The present strength of all Japanese forces in active combat may be compared, not with the fully mobilized and actively engaged manpower of a first-class modern military power, but with the comparative size of the samurai army which Yoritomo sent against Fujiwara Yushihara in the 12th century.

"It is my opinion that no matter how her military manpower potential is stretched, *the number of high-quality first line troops available to Japan will never exceed the two million mark as its upper limit.*"

This, then, was a qualitative esti-

ROOSEVELT AND CHURCHILL AT YALTA MULL OVER MORE THAN COFFEE

Inside Story of Yalta *continued*

mate of Japanese manpower rather than the catch-all quantitative estimate of the dominant War Department intelligence source. Moreover, the quantitative element in it was much more realistic than the other—the difference between 2 million effective combat troops and 5 million being a remarkable margin of error. My estimate (which, incidentally, credited Japan with somewhat greater effective combat strength than it actually had) was based on an extremely careful study of Japan's conscription system, including draft statistics, physical fitness reports, and on intelligence reports revealing the rapidly increasing manpower difficulties of the Japanese Imperial Army.

The qualitative factor in the pessimistic estimate, though subordinate, was equally exaggerated.

"What, it may be asked, is the cream of the Japanese Army?" I wrote in this connection. "Considering the composition of the Japanese Navy, its almost complete reliance on genuine volunteers and on men of exceptionally high military aptitude, one is tempted to say that the cream of the Japanese Army has already been sunk with the Japanese Navy.

"However, it has been implied that Japan had dispatched inferior troops to her Pacific holdings and had kept her best men in Manchuria and the Philippines. *The fact is that the Japanese soldiers defeated in the S.W. and Central Pacific campaigns represented the cream of the Japanese Army.* They included elements of the 18th Infantry Division under Lt. Gen. Renya Mataguchi which has a distinguished record of service. Japanese accounts rank it with the elite troops of the Empire, with the Imperial Guards and the famous 5th Division, elements of which, incidentally, also suffered defeat in the contested area.

"The 24th Division, another of Japan's elite troops, was also met and defeated in the S. W. Pacific. Several crack divisions of the Kwantung Army had been identified and eliminated in active combat areas. We have reason to believe that the Kwantung Army, considerably depleted in strength, is now composed mainly of second-rate troops, incapable of major offensive action and even of effective defense. It is quite safe to assume that as such, the much-vaunted Kwantung Army has ceased to exist. No sustained difficulties should be expected in Manchuria should that area become a combat zone."

On the basis of this estimate—and, indeed, on the basis of highly reliable intelligence reports in the political field which indicated Japan's determination to surrender at the earliest possible moment—I concluded that Soviet participation in the Pacific war was not required by any military contingency on our part.

This conclusion was based less on political than on purely military considerations. To put it in the simplest terms, the situation of Japan as it was revealed to some of us early in 1945, did not justify the Joint Chiefs' anxiety and failed to support the arguments which induced Roosevelt to bring the Russians into the Far Eastern war. Without trying to detract from the efficiency and valor of the Soviet troops which defeated the Kwantung Army in a few days' campaign, I maintain unequivocally that Japan's unconditional surrender could have been obtained without Soviet action in Manchuria.

Here then is, in my opinion, the crux of the "riddle of Yalta"—the chief motivation of all decisions, the supreme issue, the crucial argument. The story of Yalta is really the tragic story of the wrong estimate of a clear-cut military situation and of the accident of choosing the erroneous, timid, inaccurate estimate. The Joint Chiefs were fully entitled to their choice. In fact, they revealed remarkable prudence in leaning toward the pessimistic report at a time when the atmosphere was super-charged with optimism, as in the summer of 1945.

But on Japan, unfortunately, the Joint Chiefs lacked the broad and decisive knowledge which aided them in their planning for the European war. I think they were rather ill-advised on Japan—and I have reason to believe that they lacked access to a few vital documents, filed and forgotten by unimaginative but influential amateurs on the lower echelons of War Department Intelligence.

The intelligence section of the War Department General Staff was untested, uncertain and uneasy on all matters concerning Japan. The Far East had been for them a side show—their eyes were almost exclusively on Europe. The few genuine students of Japanese psychology and military science were regarded with condescension and mistrust, their advice "colored" by their long pre-occupation with the puzzling enemy. Japanese surrender proved the specialists right and the newcomers to Japanese Intelligence wrong.

The latter group's estimate of Japan's fighting spirit and potential was probably the strangest document of the whole war.

Produced during a period characterized by victorious sweep and uncommon daring in our military thinking and planning, this particular document had neither sweep nor daring. It was remarkable for its caution—and even defeatism. It was, in the final analysis, a triumph of Japan's propaganda.

It remains the crucial document for our understanding of all that happened in Yalta.

The World of Free Men

DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ASSURES ITS BIRTH—
PROMISES THE EARTH'S MINORITY, COLONIAL AND
POLICE-RIDDEN PEOPLES NEW DIGNITIES AND FREEDOMS

An editorial and a prophecy by Louis Dolivet—See page 64

AN OLD HAND SEES CHINA HENCEFORTH RULED BY AND FOR

EITHER The Russians . . . . WHICH MEANS THE END FOR OTHER WHITE MEN THERE

OR The Chinese . . . . WHICH MEANS AT BEST A QUOTA LIMIT ON 'TAPIANS'

IN ANY CASE, THE GOOD OLD, THE HALCYON OLD DAYS ARE OVER

Goodbye Shanghai

BY MARC T. GREENE

Veteran observer and reporter in the Southwest Pacific region

KUNMING—THE CHINESE IMPOSE THEIR OWN COLOR ON WESTERN PATTERN

UNITED NATIONS WORLD has consistently anticipated the trend of events in China and has published recently two penetrating articles on that subject by Pearl S. Buck: "A Note on the Price of Rice—and Power" (September) and "The People Will Be Free" (December). Herewith the Editors offer another opinion, not necessarily in full agreement with their own. Marc T. Greene is a veteran correspondent in the Southwest Pacific region. The opinions he expresses, the Editors are certain, fairly reflect those of many men in the China trade. These opinions have long been, and will continue to be, significant in any over-all evaluation of events in China.

THE QUESTION of whether the white man (non-Russian) can remain in China as a factor in the country's commerce and trade will depend largely on the eventual outcome of the civil war and the future it brings to two cities, Shanghai and Hong Kong.

The British city of Hong Kong is called by the Chinese "the blade in China's side." The smuggling of both gold and hard currency out through this gateway—and thence by way of Portuguese Macao—justifies the charge that this blade is letting out China's life blood at a dangerous rate. Pure gold, melted down valuables, in bars small enough to be easily concealed about the body, is being taken out of China in enormous amounts. Not all of this "refugee capital," of course, but by far the greater amount, passes through Hong Kong.

It became evident months ago that the more American money is poured

Goodbye Shanghai *continued*

into the country the more hard currency is smuggled out by wealthy Chinese, not by any means excluding highly-placed officials. At least until very recently, because of the chaotic state of China's finances, this steady drain was a greater menace even than the growing strength and expanding territory of the Communist forces.

Whatever the relations of Russia and the Chinese Communists, actual and so-called, in the past, few things are more certain than that if these groups succeed in taking over China, Russia will to all intents and purposes take them over. If that happens, the day of the white man, except the Russian, as a commercial factor in China is done.

Normally—and still if a stable and honest and non-Communist government could in some way be brought into being in China—this market would be mainly America's and England's. Here, because of the enormous reconstruction requirements, is the greatest of all export markets, potentially at least. Because it is that, it is also the chief commercial bone of contention between Russia and the West.

The present Chinese Government never can put down the "Communistic" movement because the former is out of favor with the Chinese people and the latter is believed by peasants, coolies, and the masses generally, to be fighting their battle against corruption, crushing taxation and wide-scale food profiteering.

Whether the Chinese masses are being misled or not is beside the immediate point. They are on the side of the Communists, supporting them, feeding them, encouraging desertion from the Government ranks, spying, conducting an undercover anti-Government warfare both physical and psychological, and developing fifth-column activities all over the country.

Against this the present Government has no chance whatever. If European commercial hegemony in China should pass to the Russians, they are in good case to maintain it. For years they have been making their preparations and there is no doubt that they are quite ready to take over commercially if not politically in all of China.

If that should happen, Shanghai, the primary marketing city of China and headquarters for most foreign enterprises, would be closed to all but Russians, and the British position in Hong Kong would very obviously soon become untenable.

Already there is a strong Red movement in the British Crown Colony, its leaders in touch with the leaders of the Communist armies throughout China. A Communist-controlled China would have a strong Fifth Column there. Hong Kong also harbors many wealthy Chinese, who fled with as much of their substance as they could manage from districts occupied or threatened by the Communists. Some of these, the especially rich and the known enemies of the Communists, deem it wise to maintain bodyguards even in the British-policed city.

No matter how safe, no matter how well-administered it may be, no informed person supposes that the Colony can be held indefinitely by Britain—or even that it would be politic to attempt to hold it were its return demanded by a stable Chinese regime. The present British Government agrees that the argument for return is sound in principle. It holds only that, to render back the Colony at this time would be to turn confusion into chaos and probably catastrophe for its several million inhabitants and to do a disservice to the Chinese people themselves.

A far greater prize than Hong Kong is Shanghai, the focal-point of trade in all the Far East, the principal port-of-entry, one of the half-dozen largest cities in the world. Once the gay Paris of the Orient, ruled largely by and for the stern businessmen, it is today a down-at-heel Chinese city—drab, heavy, reminding one always of the poverty and disease and actual starvation which afflict its millions. The only Americans and Europeans in Shanghai now are those who must stay there as long as the West maintains commercial relations with China.

If a Communist regime succeeds that of Chiang Kai-shek, Shanghai will become, to all intents and purposes, a Russian city, much like Harbin and Dairen before the war. That will very definitely mean the end of American and Britisher as commercial factors of any importance in Shanghai. And neither could carry on in the rest of China, even if permitted, while barred from Shanghai.

If a complete Communist triumph in China is to be forestalled, the white man's tenure may be maintained. But there must be some fundamental changes made, and quickly.

1) The present political set-up must be altered so as to eliminate greedy and corrupt elements and reactionary elements in general, replacing these with true and unselfish representatives of the Chinese people chosen from all liberal groups short of the extremist.

2) There must be an end to landlordism, repressive taxation, and ruthless military conscription. These above all else have gained the Communists the sympathy and support of the peasantry and have enabled the Communist armies to triumph. Such medieval abuses as farming out tax-collecting to ruthless militarists, who often collect as much as 20 years' taxes in advance, would seem enough to turn even the long-suffering and peace-loving Chinese peasant to ideological extremes.

Even if such reforms could stave off complete Communist victory, the white man's position in Shanghai would be different. The future city promises to be a greater Canton, a city predominantly Chinese, in character as well as in control. In fact, it is expected that the number of Europeans permitted to live in Shanghai at all will be strictly limited.

Foreign business may go on and foreigners reside for the purpose of carrying it on, but it will be taxed as the Chinese determine, it will operate under Chinese laws and Chinese supervision, and the Chinese will make it clear that this is China and no longer a part of the international West existing in accord with Western ideas and under Western rule with most of its wealth in Western hands.

"Shanghai," one of the most prominent of pre-war British businessmen there said recently, "is finished—unless the American and British Governments step in. From 1937 to 1942 we all hung on, even as every day it became clearer that the Japanese were going to clean us up. Then three and a half years of internment. And now we come out to find that we are ruined after all. Only today it's the Chinese and not the Japs who are doing the ruining."

BY NATALIE DANESI MURRAY
UNW's Correspondent in Rome

Marie José

Unhappy Princess

THE FACE OF ONE WHO KNOWS DEATH BUT NOT LOVE

At 24 (IN 1930)

Blonde, reserved, convent-reared, lacking polish or glitter but stronghearted and eager to please, the Belgian bride idolized the sophisticate Humbert

At 42 (IN 1948)

Half blind, saddened by the deaths of those she loved, embittered against the Fascists, and the parasites of nobility, she remains unreconciled with the man she loved

It was midnight, June 5, 1946. From the private suite of Marie José, Queen of Italy, a distraught lady-in-waiting telephoned Gen. Adolfo Infante. "Her Majesty refuses to leave! What am I to do?"

Promptly General Infante hurried across Naples to the Villa Maria Pia. The day before, Italy had been proclaimed a republic. King Humbert had ordered, "All my family and all members of the House of Savoy must leave Italy within 24 hours." The King had entrusted General Infante with the Queen's departure.

In her boudoir the Queen greeted him in evident despair. Her tall figure was stooped with anguish. The blue eyes, the angular face that once had been softly attractive, reflected her inner torment. "They will say again that we run away. I am not a Savoy. I do not want to run away!" she cried. Then: "Can I stay even two more days? One?"

General Infante considered. For the first time in three years the Queen was back in her favorite Neapolitan residence, scene of a thousand personal memories. Here she had come as a young bride. Here she had watched her four children take their first steps. Here she had been free to swim and sunbathe, unhampered by court etiquette. This had been her refuge, her sanctuary. Now she asked only for a little time to relive past happiness before leaving the Villa Maria Pia forever.

"I will telephone His Majesty at the Quirinal," said the General.

When he returned from his call, however, his face gave the Queen her answer. But she had got hold of her emotions by then. "When must I be ready?" she asked simply.

"At four a.m."

"I will be ready."

At four, in Naples harbor, she boarded the royal cruiser *Duca degli*

Abbruzzi. Dawn was breaking, but Naples still slept. As the cruiser's prow turned toward Portugal, land of exiled monarchs, the Queen spoke with quiet bitterness.

"So with me begins the funeral of the Savoy family!" Frustration and defeat had finally brought the forlorn princess to despairing acceptance of her aura of tragedy.

For she had lived with tears long before she married a Savoy. She was Marie José of Belgium, daughter of the good King Albert, a fair-haired Nordic of Saxe-Coburg lineage, and Italian only and truly by choice. It is the bitter essence of Marie José's personal tragedy that both the chance of birth and the choice of marriage have brought her cruel and recurrent heartbreak.

Part of her story is on the record. (The lives of royalty cannot—perhaps should not—be secret.) Part of what is unrecorded I saw. The rest was told to me by General Infante.

The story begins in 1906, when all Belgium rejoiced that a daughter had been born to the royal family. For a time the little Princess knew happiness. Then came war, the thunder of the Imperial German Army, flight to Switzerland. While the royal family dwelt in anxious exile, the Princess was sent to the famous Italian girls' school at Poggio Imperiale.

There this prim child of Northern lowlands learned to love the rocky, sun-washed soil of Italy. And there, in 1917, she met Crown Prince Humbert, heir to the crown of Savoy. She was 11, he 13.

They rode together in a gondola in Venice. From that day on Marie José's destiny was linked with Humbert's. When she was 16, she had her photograph made with his portrait prominently displayed in front of her. She learned to speak fluent Italian, to admire Italian music and art. In 1929 they were engaged.

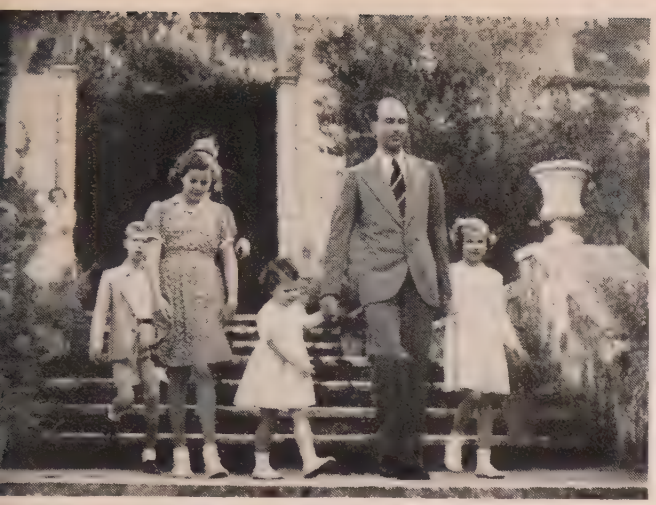
Marie José then was 23, tall, with unruly curly hair and a strong athletic body. She was not beautiful, but she was fresh, healthy, full of life. Humbert was 25, darkly handsome, elegant, sporting, a notorious ladies' man though faintly effeminate in manner. Neopolitans who saw the pair together exclaimed, "It must be a love match!"

Behind the scenes, the policy makers also were pleased. Marie José was one of the few European princesses who could wed Humbert of

THE SAD MISMATCH: The bride was shy, muscular, convent-reared: the beloved bridegroom a sleekly handsome royal roué.

Unhappy Princess *continued*

MUSSOLINI'S PUPPET. In 1936, four years after the estrangement, Prince Humbert flaps a limp heil after a visit to Berlin.



AS A FATHER, Humbert permits a photograph of himself with his four exiled children—but not with his unloved wife.

AS A PLAYBOY, Humbert is snapped enjoying the Sao Martinho (Portugal) Fair with four women of the type he admires.

HERE IN FIVE SIGNIFICANT PHOTOGRAPHS IS SHOWN

THE HISTORY OF A LOVELESS PAIR

HELD TOGETHER ONLY BY A MUTUAL FAITH IN MONARCHIES

TOGETHER—officially—in 1939 (Humbert, rear). Marie José was round, pretty.

ALONE in 1947. Marie José, thin now but beautiful, plays croquet with son Victor.

IN CHURCH, Humbert and Marie José are photographed together in Lisbon observing their son's first Holy Communion.

Unhappy Princess *continued*

Savoy without creating political or religious complications. More, her inherited share of the wealth of the Belgian Congo made her a very rich woman. Royal marriages no longer meant what they once had, still, this one could bring a last spark of glamour to a fading dynasty. And glamorous indeed the wedding was.

It took place in January, 1930, in Rome. For a solid week the city quivered to receptions, parades, pageants, operatic displays. The thousands of distinguished guests were like a curious ballet in brocade, forming and reforming in measured, formal patterns, officially celebrating the consummation of dynastic love. One wide-hipped, undazzled onlooker spoke for the city's multitudes when she demanded, in pure Roman slang, *"Ma quanno li lasseno soli sti poveri fiji de mamma?"*—"But when will they leave these poor Mama's kids alone?"

They were left alone, and soon enough. For, when they were, Marie José realized that official gaiety was all the pleasure her new husband would give her.

That sorry fact quickly became evident to all the court. Marie José's cool Flemish beauty, her shy awkwardness, had no appeal for Humbert. He liked his women suave, sophisticated, passionate. The honeymoon was barely over before he returned to these friends of his bachelor days. That very summer of 1930 I saw him at Capri, dancing alone in the moonlight with a much-publicized Roman beauty.

Thereafter the unhappy Princess seemed dogged by cruel misfortune. Her father, King Albert, a warm-hearted and democratic man whom she always adored, was killed in a fall during a routine mountain climb. Astrid, Queen of Belgium, her sister-in-law and dearest friend, died just as tragically in an automobile wreck. King Boris of Bulgaria, her brother-in-law, was murdered. Mafalda, Princess of Hesse—her favorite Italian sister-in-law—died of gangrene at Buchenwald.

Both the country of her birth and the land of her adoption suffered the brutality of Nazi occupation. When the cataclysm of World War II finally ended, she became Queen of Italy—for a single month.

Yet all of these torments and sorrows could have been borne, had Marie José been happy with Humbert. True satisfaction for any woman is the realization of her love for her mate. This Marie José never had. Her Prince Charming was interested only in charming other women.

At first, she would not believe it. Afterward, for a time, she hoped, piteously, that somehow she could win him back. Then, only two years after their wedding, Humbert got involved with a famous Hollywood star with social ambitions and beautiful teeth.

Humbert had met the singer on the French Riviera. Later she joined him in Turin and insisted on being invited to the Royal Palace. Humbert arranged this at night, in his private suite. But Marie José had learned of the affair and she too came to the Prince's quarters—with a gun. By good fortune, her shots went wild. Then she fainted. She was carried out and the scandal hushed.

Humbert and his inamorata scurried out of the Palace. In one of his racey cars they roared toward the French border. The car overturned. The star's jaw and her beautiful teeth were badly smashed. A revenge far more poetic than the Princess' small pistol could have rendered.

Humbert and Marie José never made up after that. Though they lived under the same roof, they were together only to perform official ceremonies or the dynastic duty of loveless procreation. Their first daughter, Maria Pia, was born in 1934. Three years later came their only son, Victor Emmanuel. Two other daughters followed, in 1940 and 1943. Marie José found in her children some of the love and comfort their father denied her. Except for them her life would have been empty indeed . . .

Of course she sought companionship elsewhere. But even her in-laws proved barren. She found the Italian Court unbearably provincial. After her own father, King Victor Emmanuel III struck her as a militaristic weakling, at once conservative and domineering. Gradually the Princess formed her own tight circle of close friends.

Sometimes she would appear, incognito, at some small restaurant with a few intimates. Again she would entertain, at home, artists and writers whose conversation she enjoyed. Keenly interested in music, she retained the late composer-pianist Alfredo Casella as her piano teacher; she never missed the music festivals at Salzburg. Often enough the royal box at La Scala or the Teatro Reale would be occupied by Marie José the Belgian, who alone of the royal family loved Italian opera.

She also was an excellent sportswoman: an expert skier, a competent tennis player. But she had progressively less time for such diversions. Spurned by her husband, outraged by the arid formality of court life, she found an outlet for her intelligence and energy by entering the treacherous, viscous quicksand bed of Italian politics.

For the Belgian Princess never was, nor could have been, a Fascist. Hatred of Germany had been ingrained in her childhood. From the start she distrusted and feared Mussolini; when he allied Italy with Hitler's Germany, her anxiety became apprehension. Up to the last her closest confidante and adviser was Count Zanotti-Bianco, a true anti-Fascist. To him she poured out her doubts and fears about the future of Italy, the ivory-tower blindness of the royal family, the menace of Mussolini. To keep abreast of events she even made contact with the hated Fascist hierarchy and openly spoke of the matters that worried her.

One Fascist with whom she struck up a real rapport was Italo Balbo. Young, ambitious, intelligent and independent, Balbo never hesitated to criticize Mussolini's regime. As soon as their friendship became known, the rumor spread that Balbo and Marie José were lovers. Mussolini himself, jealous of his young Minister's popularity, helped the whispering campaign along. Finally he "kicked Balbo upstairs" by making him governor of Libya. Later an anti-aircraft "accident" over Tobruk (believed by many to have been manipulated by the Duce) ended Balbo's life.

Even before this bereavement, the Princess had changed markedly from earlier days. Now in her 30's, the awkward acerbity of her youth had given way to warm maturity. Maternity had softened her face and form. Even those who once had criticized her as unbeautiful now

found her attractive, charming. Except her husband. . . .

In 1940, when Mussolini sent Italy into Hitler's war against the world, Marie José realized that neither Humbert nor his father, Victor Emmanuel, was strong enough to rally the democratic elements in Italy. Heedless of danger, she threw herself into the task. Into her own "underground" she recruited anti-Fascist politicians and intellectuals, even Army officers whose loyalty she could trust. Constantly she urged these men to overthrow Mussolini and take Italy out of the war.

Ironically enough, at one time the Princess was accused of being pro-Nazi. That was in 1940, when she went to see Hitler at Berchtesgaden. Few knew she went for one reason: to ask concessions for her brother Leopold, king of a Belgium overrun by Germany twice in a generation.

There never was a question of Marie José's bitterness against every aspect of the Rome-Berlin Axis. Even Marshal Pietro Badoglio has testified to that. He was one of those whom the Princess met in secrecy to further the anti-Fascist cause. Both were under the surveillance of the dreaded secret police. Yet they met.

In time King Victor Emmanuel grew vexed by his daughter-in-law's activities. As the defenses of Italy crumbled under Allied bombings, he began to seek a constitutional way to get rid of Mussolini. The Quirinal became a beehive of mysterious meetings, of comings and goings. The King felt that Marie José's private campaign was interfering with his larger plans. So he sent her to safe isolation in one of the royal castles in the Alps.

Again frustration. When the coup d'état of July 1943 ousted Mussolini forever, Marie José was away from Rome and, as usual, alone.

There followed the famous 45 Days of Badoglio (UNW, August), ending on September 8 with the signing of the Allied-Italian armistice. Promptly the Nazi legions poured down the length of Italy. And Marie José, with her children, fled to Switzerland.

For 20 months she stayed there, constantly watched, never free. Once she was allowed to visit an internment camp for Italian soldiers who, deserted by their King, had fled to Switzerland. She tried to distribute gifts among them. To a man they refused. Thus this democratic Belgian relearned a sad truth: the mass of Italians distrusted, even hated the House of Savoy.

It was on this occasion that a journalist suggested to the Princess that her son represented a poor bet for the survival of Italy's royal family. "It does not matter," she replied without heat. "He likes mechanics. He will become an engineer."

That year, 1945, the end of April saw the end of the Nazis even in northern Italy. Simultaneously came the end of Marie José's exile, marked by a dramatic trek across the Alps on foot. So she came back to Rome, scene of so many disappointments. And there the final act of her personal tragedy began.

At that point Rome was tense with the fight between monarchists and antimonarchists. Fascism as a major political factor was dead. In the vacuum left by its passing, the Allied Commission tried confusedly to rule. Rome was the Allies' first rest camp of the Mediterranean war, and already Allied soldiers roamed the streets, fostering black markets and other corruption.

No Italian liked this situation. But no two Italians seemed to agree on the choice at hand: keep the House of Savoy or throw it out.

By now Marie José was nearing 40. She had lost not only the youthful expression but the womanly softness of a few scant years before. Her face was pale, her features more pronounced. She was thinner. Personal disillusionment, compounded by external setbacks, had given her a new attitude—one of withdrawal, of looking inward, almost of resignation. From the day she arrived in Rome from Switzerland, she took little part in the rapid march of history.

So passed another 13 months. Even now the Princess might have turned to her husband, but Humbert was caught in the political tides that swept Italy. Afraid, still striving to maintain a dynasty long since doomed, he had nothing to say to his childhood sweetheart.

Nor could she look elsewhere for solace. The anti-Fascists she once had aided now neglected her. The orthodox monarchists ignored her. For her part she scorned the court parasites.

Just once during this time did Rome newspapers even mention Marie José. This was when a mysterious fire swept the royal hunting lodge where she and her children were staying.

Not until the following spring did the Princess reappear, briefly, in the public eye. On June 2 the nation was to vote on the issue of monarchy vs. republic. Three weeks before, on May 9, aging Victor Emmanuel abdicated in his son's favor. For a moment in history Humbert "ruled" as King of Italy, and for that moment his Belgian bride tasted the bitter lees of Queenship.

Marie José knew well how empty the glory was. Before the election she was seen in the streets of Rome, helping to tear down monarchist posters. On June 2 she went to the polls like millions of other Italians—and voted Socialist.

Humbert held the throne less than a month. He was called "the King of May." On June 4, Italy became a republic. Two days later the royal family sailed for Portugal.

Yet the tragedy is not over. In human history, adversity often has brought two people together. It did not reunite Humbert and Marie José.

When Italy's ex-Queen arrived in Portugal she became simply the Countess of Sarre. Ex-King Humbert, still aloof, settled in the fishing village of Cascais. Soon Marie José and the children moved to the little town of Meiner in Switzerland.

There at last she could have found peace, rest, new values. But she took a trip to Madrid and fell desperately ill. From the illness she emerged almost blind. A world-famous specialist attended her, and after many weeks her sight was partially restored.

In time she may regain total sight. But today, at 42, the unhappy princess Marie José can see only what lies directly before her. Everywhere else is darkness.

THE THRONE OF MAY

In use for only 26 days, Humbert's throne, a modern adaptation of the high seat of his father and grandfather, still stands in the Quirinal Palace. Formerly the residence of the Italian royal family, the palace is now the property of the Republic and home of the President.

THE GAULEITERS ARE GONE FROM DEAD BRESLAU
AND POLISH WROCLAW LIVES INSTEAD
JEWS MAY ONCE AGAIN BE JEWISH
AND POLES TAKE PRIDE IN THEIR SLAVIC BLOOD

Where Communism Conquered

BY LEO LANIA
UNW's Eastern European Editor

THE NAZIS MADE A FORTRESS OF EACH STREET IN BRESLAU'S RESIDENTIAL SECTION—WITH THIS RESULT

WROCLAW (BRESLAU): After the dreadful ruins of Warsaw, Breslau is both comfort and delight. The center of the city, its beautiful Gothic houses, its old city hall and the majestic cathedral, have been spared. Surrounding the unravaged, aristocratic splendor of its market square twist and turn the narrow picturesque streets of the old city. And, then, a little further on—in any direction—you see again the too-familiar scars of war, the ugliness of destruction. The rich residential section of elegant villas and modern mansions has suffered most. These were before Hitler the homes of prosperous physicians and lawyers, manufacturers, merchants, bankers. For many generations they, the *Geheimraete* and *Generaldirektoren* —not the aristocracy, not the dukes and counts—were the real intellectual leaders, sponsors of science and art in Breslau, proud of their role as guardians of "German culture." Many Jews were among them. In their salons gathered painters and architects, musicians and writers. They financed the theater and the art galleries, discovered new authors. They had artistic taste and enthusiasm. Thanks to them Breslau before Hitler was one of the intellectual and artistic centers of Germany; more mellow than Berlin, less Bohemian than Munich, "the Frankfort of the East."

Of this old and very highly developed cultural quality no trace remains. When the Russians stormed the city in the spring of '45, the war was already won. But the Nazis made each of the residential streets a battle line, each house a fortress. It was a mad attempt to postpone by a few days, the inevitable defeat. The ruined, burned out buildings are an impressive memento of this madness. Another symbol is the cemetery around the corner where many hundreds of Russian soldiers are buried.

That the Nazis themselves had destroyed the most valuable elements of Germany's culture before their destructive mania involved all Europe does not diminish one's regret for the fate of Breslau as the center of a western spirit and way of life. It is a grievous thing to see a great and fine city dead, as Breslau is. . . .

THERE ARE NO GERMANS IN POLISH WROCLAW

Wroclaw is a makeshift city, but very much alive. A Polish city, it is the capital and center of the "liberated territories" as upper and lower Silesia are called by the Poles. The German population has been expelled and more than 5 million Poles settled in Silesia during the last 3 years. Many of the newcomers are peasants from the eastern provinces which Poland had ceded to Russia. Others are merchants and shopkeepers who lost their businesses in Warsaw, Krakow or Lodz. These are no longer, of course, merchants or shopkeepers, "exploiters of the people" or "gamblers." They are converts to nationalization; they have started here a new life as industrial workers and farmers.

Two affairs which I attended in Wroclaw illustrated to me tellingly what Polish nationality and nationalism have meant to the "liberated territories"—and to Poland. The first of these was overt and intentional; the second was not.

A few days before I arrived in Wroclaw there opened at the former fairgrounds an Exhibition of Postwar Progress in the liberated territories. For weeks the whole propaganda effort of the government had been concentrated on the promotion of this venture—visitors from all over the country flocked to Wroclaw. It was practically impossible to get a hotel room without the help of the local authorities.

The visitors were not disappointed. Taking good advantage of the most modern methods in dramatizing economic data through photographs, tables and models, the exhibition gives a clear picture of the difficulties and accomplishments of the large-scale work of reconstruction; it is surprisingly free of chauvinism and of that kind of Communist propaganda which the other "Popular Democracies" dish out without restraint on similar occasions.

At the entrance the visitor is stunned by a sight which reminds one of the phantasies of a futuristic painter: an obelisque in the shape of a needle of glittering steel, at least a hundred feet high, symbolizes the upward trend of Poland's economic progress; behind it are three enormous arcs—symbols of the three-year plan. They form a kind of arcade. To the left and right are the main halls, each dedicated to a specific aspect of Poland's economy, industry and agriculture. The architecture shows the imprint of men of high artistic ability and vision.

A special pavillion is a memorial to the Soviet-Polish alliance against the Nazis. The walls are covered with photographs and pictures of the war, of death and destruction. German weapons, rusty and broken, are piled in a huge heap in the middle of the round room. Paintings of Stalin and the Polish leaders dominate the scene. This is the only reference to the Soviet Union's part in the liberation of Poland.

THOUGH NAZISM IS OVERTHROWN

COMMUNISM IS NOT YET SUPREME

THOUGH THE GERMANS ARE SLAUGHTERED OR BANISHED

THE GERMANY THAT BECAME POLAND IS STILL SOUR WITH RACISM

Where Communism Conquered *continued*

One of the main halls houses a large panorama of the new, acquired territories, showing their resources, the demographic structure, development of industry and agriculture.

It is not necessary to prove that in incorporating these provinces the new Poland has acquired important sources of national wealth. And, as much as the Polish people deserve recognition for the energy and speed with which they have started on the road to recovery, one mustn't forget that reconstruction is easier to accomplish here than in most other devastated European countries: the Silesian coal mines provide Poland with rich opportunities for export, an asset which has a decisive bearing upon the Polish economy as a whole.

Another result of Poland's expansion to the west is not less important. Of Poland's pre-war population 22 per cent lived in cities, 78 per cent on farms; in the newly acquired strongly industrialized provinces the relationship is 47 against 53. As a whole Poland is now economically much better balanced: 31 per cent city dwellers against 69 per cent farm people.

Another purpose of the exhibition is to prove that this new western territory is historically Polish. Documents, ancient books, art and household objects, furniture and costumes reconstruct the period when Wroclaw was part of the Polish Kingdom. The forcible Germanization of these provinces over several centuries and the different partitions of Poland are illustrated by charts and statistics. The indictment of the enduring brutality and imperialistic madness of German nationalism is shockingly impressive.

The most important lesson to be drawn from this sad chapter of history would be the realization that a policy based on naked force and terror may destroy in the end those who use it. Unfortunately the new Poland has not applied this lesson in dealing with the Germans who had lived here for many generations. The wonderful chance Poland had—to draw a clear line between just punishment of Nazi criminals and wholesale revenge meted out without discrimination to men, women and children for belonging to the "German race"—was missed.

While the exhibition bespoke the accomplishments of all the Liberated Territories, the particular pride of Wroclaw, the Polish city, is the state-built, state-owned department store which opened during my visit. The ceremony of its inauguration was not much less elaborate than the opening of the exhibition. Mr. Hilary Minc, Minister of Economics, who is credited with most of the accomplishments Poland has made in the field of reconstruction, came from Warsaw especially for this event and delivered the main address; the President of the Republic and most of the Ministers attended.

The five-story building doesn't differ greatly in appearance from any department store in any small town in the United States—though the small variety of goods and their poor quality would not satisfy an American customer. The excitement, therefore, seemed to me naive, the propaganda exploiting this "great event" not quite justified.

The difficulties Poland has had to overcome in order to get her industrial production really started have been considerable. One realizes that it will take time for the demand for consumer goods to be satisfied. Yet, hearing this department store being praised as if it were a unique accomplishment of the new regime, reminded me of the young worker in Moscow who in the early thirties pointed out to me the highway leading from the capital to Nizhny-Novgorod as an irrefutable proof of the superiority of the Soviet regime. He was honestly convinced that since no such road had existed prior to the Bolshevik Revolution, the Soviet regime had invented the highway.

POLAND'S POTENTIAL WEALTH—NOT COAL BUT PEOPLE

Pre-war Poland had a Jewish population of 3½ million. Only 100,000 have survived the gas chambers of Hitler and the slaughter of the ghetto. Of these, 50,000 are now settled in the border provinces along the German frontier. One finds them as miners in the district of Walcrzych, as laborers in the textile co-operatives of Warsaw and Katowiec, as farmers in the little villages around

'POLAND HAS TAKEN OVER'—WROCLAW'S RAILWAY STATION

Dzierzoniow in Lower Silesia. The Jewish merchant, shopkeeper, peddler is a thing of the past. This change in the social status of the Jew is one of the most remarkable features of the new Poland.

In the front yard of a badly damaged synagogue in Wroclaw stands a drab and dilapidated three-story building. Here was once the seat of the rich and ancient Jewish community of Breslau. Today it serves as headquarters for the whole Jewish community of Lower Silesia. When I arrived, a few dozen shabbily dressed men and women, mostly older people, stood in a clump before the door. I had difficulty making my way to the entrance of the building. Word had spread that an American was in town and everyone wanted to ask my help and advice. Brandishing letters from relatives in the States, they asked one question: Was there any hope of their going to America in the near future? The older people, even those who are convinced Zionists, have only one goal: America.

The younger ones have already either left for Palestine or decided to start a new life on the spot. Mr. Jacob Egit, the chairman of the community, gave me the following figures: number of gainfully employed Jewish industrial workers in Lower Silesia 17,000, number of Jewish labor co-operatives 100 (employing perhaps 2500), self-employed Jewish craftsmen 100, Jewish families engaged in farming 300.

In view of the state-controlled economy the co-operative movement has proven the most effective approach to the rehabilitation of Poland's Jews. Jewish co-operatives have increased in the whole of Poland from 118 with 2854 workers (in October, 1946) to 198 with 5138 workers (in April, 1948). Most of the co-operatives are engaged in tailoring and shoemaking, there are now two dozen furniture factories and more than a dozen factories for electric appliances run co-operatively.

It was money raised by American Jews that made this co-op venture possible. The American Joint Distribution Committee helped to organize a co-operative bank and allocated an initial grant of 550 million zlotys for the financing of this project. The Polish government gave an additional loan of 500 million zlotys. So far the results are very encouraging.

Of course, there is always the question: Will the Polish government allow the co-operatives to operate in a semi-independent fashion or will they fall victim to the expanding nationalization? So far the Polish government has been rather slow and cautious in socializing its economy. Only 24 per cent of all gainfully employed men and women work in communal or state enterprises and co-operatives, 14 per cent work in plants still owned by private capital; artisans, shopkeepers and peasants form 62 per cent of the population.

THE PITIFUL PRECIPITATE OF POLAND'S JEWRY

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) sent in the summer of 1947 a ten-man mission to Poland at the request of the Polish government. The mission toured the whole country and outlined after a careful study not only a series of technical steps which Poland accepted, but also a number of measures which Polish officials have rejected as "purely political." Among these recommendations are: breaking up of large state farms into economically-sized units to be owned and operated by Polish families and greater autonomy for local co-operatives.

In its report published last June, the FAO mission paid tribute to the Polish people with these words: "It is the opinion of the mission . . . that if the Polish nation had an opportunity to be educated according to the standards of western Europe and to carry out a peaceful economic development the world would be amazed by the result. Imperfectly developed resources of intelligence constitute the greatest potential wealth of the Polish people. This is a raw material of far greater value than the coal that is being exploited so extensively by present-day Poland."

When the mission published this statement, Wladyslaw Gomulka was still Vice-Premier and Secretary General of the Communist Party. There were hopes that Poland could steer a course different from the other "Popular Democracies" (UNW, October). But the sharpening of the Cominform conflict with Tito has been accompanied during the last two months by an intensification of the class war in Polish town and countryside. President Bierut emphasized lately that there is to be "no further compromise with those seeking a happy medium between West and East in economics as well as culture." And the official publications of the Communist Information Bureau stress again and again two points: "First, that the revolution cannot depend upon the peasantry for support and second that any form of private land holding, even by co-operatives, must be done away with."

It remains to be seen how the peasants will react to the attempts of the government to present them with the blessings of collectivism.

I left Poland with the impression that there are difficult times ahead for the people as well as for its leaders who are intelligent enough to realize that they were so far successful only because they took into careful consideration the strong nationalistic and individualistic sentiments of the masses.

The new party line, enforced by the Cominform, must inevitably interrupt the kind of internal truce the Communists had established with the peasants. The "peaceful economic development" proposed by FAO seems today much farther off than only three months ago. The likelihood that the Polish people will "be educated according to the standards of Western Europe" has become very slim.

Election Time in Israel

PREVIEW OF PARTIES AND POLICIES IN A UNIQUE STATE

Of Socialists, Anglophobes and dollarphiles—See page 33

Norse Heritage

From Hunger to Fun

2500 Years Ago

LANCE-ARMED SCANDINAVIAN HUNTERS
SILENTLY STALKED THEIR
FOREST GAME ON SLENDER, SILENT SKIS

Today

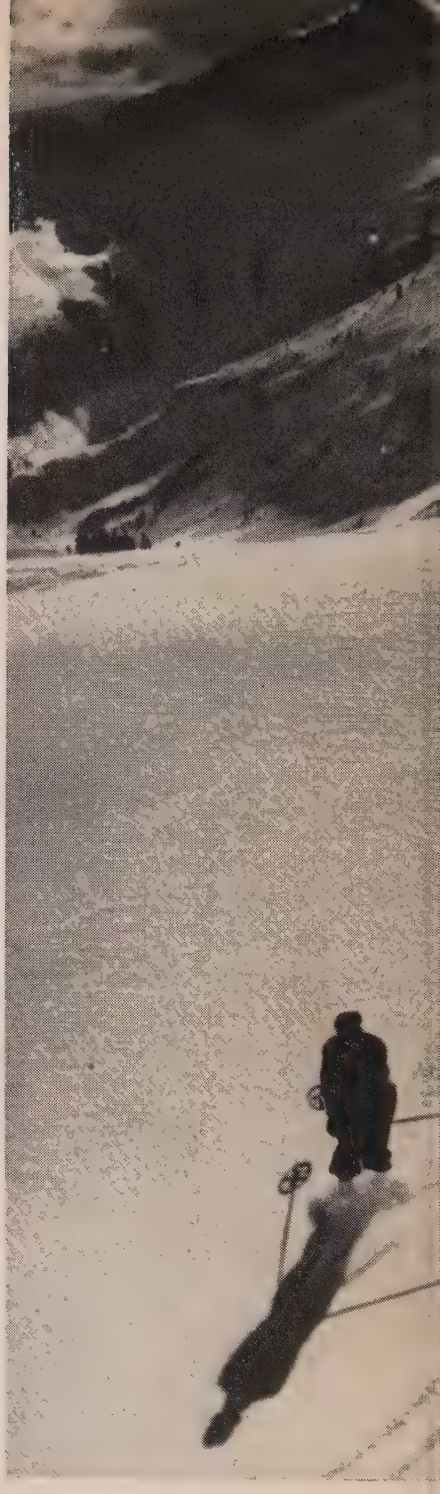
PLEASURE SEEKERS BY THE MILLIONS QUIVER
TO THE TAUT THRILL OF A DOWNHILL RUN
IN EUROPE, NORTH AMERICA, ASIA AND DOWN UNDER

BY BETSEY BANKART AND ROBERT ALLCOTT
Staff writers for "Ski Magazine"

"Loepe!"
"Abunai!"
"Piste!"
"Achtung!"
"Track!"

These shouts in respectively Norwegian, French, Japanese, German and English, ring down mountainsides—then skiers flash by, crouched low over skis that plume up powder snow. The gleaming spray sifts into tracks that sweep down the Himalayan slopes above Kashmir and treeless Andean declivities of Chile. For the realm of skiing encircles the world—ski-track doodles scribble the snow on every continent and impertinently lace back and forth across national boundaries.

Skiing dates back 2500 years to the dim pre-history of Scandinavia, where alert huntsmen used skis to slide through the dim forests after game. Two thousand years later the denizens of Russia's steppes and of Europe proper had adopted the crude, curved boards that, distributing body weight over several square feet, enabled men to speed over soft, deep snow, through which otherwise they could not even walk.



SKIING IN PARADISE VALLEY ON

But Scandinavia remained the center of skiing. There, Sondre Nordheim, who was born in 1825, designed a secure method of fastening shoes to skis. Modern skiing was made possible by Nordheim's cane-and-leather heel-and-ankle harness and the steel and spring harnesses evolved from it. With this new control skiing first became a sport. Daredevils could turn their skis among the trees and they called their wild downhill races through the forests *slalom*. Today slight bamboo

MT. RANIER ABOVE SEATTLE, SKIERS ENJOY THE TRIPLE BOON OF GOOD SNOW, BRIGHT SUN AND ALPINE BEAUTY

poles topped with colored flags are the obstacles around which slalom racers swerve with relative—but only relative—safety.

In time, cross-country races, long runs over the hills, and ski jumping emerged as the most popular aspects of skiing in Scandinavia. Virtually everyone there skis and regularly the Norse peninsula offers a new champion like Torger Tokle or Birger Ruud for world competitions.

In Stockholm the streetcars have ski racks and children learn to ski and walk almost simultaneously. At Oslo's famed Holmenkollen jumping joust, thousands thrill as a competitor soars out over the landing hill every 15 seconds. Small ski lodges flourish throughout the northern mountains and after the early winter storms abate, vacationers often tour the ski trails by torchlight in the cold, clear nights.

Only a few decades after Norway modernized skiing, the Alps of Central Europe became the world's ski resort. Giant ski lifts and cog railways were built and the fabulous lithographed posters of Arosa, Mürren and Grindelwald became coveted possessions of United States' enthusiasts. St. Moritz, Davos, St. Anton and Garmisch-Partenkirchen invited Americans to bask in old country charm and gather information that would one day shape the United States into a nation of skiers. Now, with daily trans-Atlantic flights and reduced winter fares, Europe is closer.

St. Moritz, scene of the 1948 winter Olympics, nestles beside a blue

LATIN AMERICA'S ELITE SKIS AT FARELLONES, 35 MILES FROM SANTIAGO

Norse Heritage *continued*

lake in the Engadine valley, dwarfed by looming, snow-capped mountains. Chateau-style hotels dominate the scene and the lobbies brim over with colorful ski clothes. While four mountain railways wend up to the snow fields, grounded mountain climbers clink along the sidewalks in their spiked boots and yodel.

The Flying Kilometer, a sheer downhill descent at St. Moritz, provided a speedway where Leo Gasperl once attained 84.7 miles an hour.

Davos, in the Grisons, annually sponsors the Parsenn Derby, a dash on skis from mountain top to town. Here in Davos the 1948 United States Olympic coach, Walt Praeger, mastered his skiing fundamentals. From this quaint Swiss town numerous funiculars head upward to above-timberline snow fields making available 255 miles of downhill runs.

Gstaad operates the first chair lift built for two, popularly known as the "he-and-she" lift. For sheer comfort, canopies and curtains button up against the blustery weather.

Prices in Switzerland approach those in the United States. Many hotels ask substantial fees—10 to 40 dollars—but for 5 dollars skiers can bed down in pensions or chalets.

Slowly, Austria works to restore normal tourist traffic, cutting red tape and lifting monetary controls that hinder travelers. Eight new lifts, of varying design, now supplement the 10 cable railroads stretching up from Kitzbuehel and Salzburg and other Austrian Tyrol resorts. Lederhosen, traditional embroidered suspenders, flowered dirndls and German beer are incidental additional attractions.

At St. Anton, once home of the Hannes Schneider ski school, the famous Arlberg-Kandahar downhill race draws the world's top skiers to compete for the gold A.K. pin, coveted symbol of three victories.

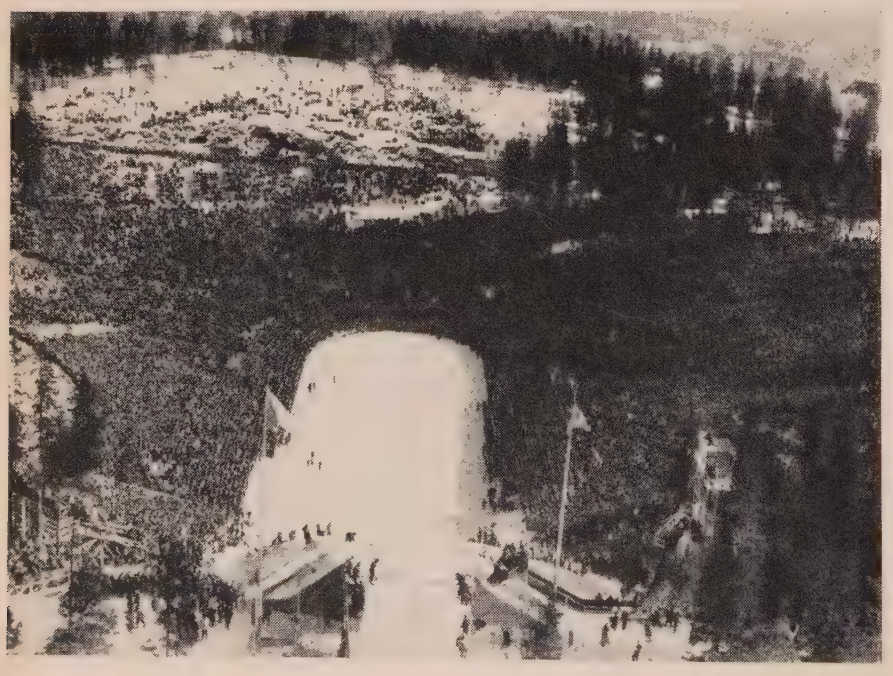
France, whose Alpine resort, Chamonix, cradled the 1924 winter Olympics, sent her skiing pride to the Games last winter. Henri Oreiller zoomed down a two and a half mile downhill course to victory, and James Couttet swept the slalom honors. Both skied the French National Technique (emphasis on parallel skis), devised by France's versatile ski emissary, Emile Allais.

A world traveler, Allais summered amidst Chilean snows, and this winter the Number One skimeister instructs in the United States at Sun Valley, Idaho.

The Dolomites, bounding northern Italy, shelter Cortina d'Ampezzo and Sestrières. At Sestrières a hotel lobby houses a station of three funiculars that whir up to different mountain tops. Each year the Coppe Tre Funivie race challenges experts to run the Blanchetta, the Rio Nero and Mont Sises courses on consecutive days. Trail hazards deplete the racers' ranks so drastically that only a handful complete the tournament.

In 1886, the 61-year-old Nordheim and Torjos Hemmesveit, two robust Norwegians, crossed the Atlantic to preach and practice the delights of the sport, giving impetus to skiing in the United States. But until the turn of the century, the apostles of skiing, whether converted at home

THE WHITE SPECKS ARE FACES ON A BLACK CLOT OF SWEDISH JUMP FANS



THE CURVE OF FORM, THE BEAUTY OF MOTION ARE CAUGHT IN THIS PHOTO FROM THE SWISS BERNESE OBERLAND

by Scandinavian immigrants or by Teutonic skimeisters in the Alps, were too few to overcome the American idea that winter was the season for hugging a pot-bellied stove.

Since the first rope tow appeared in Woodstock, Vt., in 1933, skiing has mushroomed into a $100,000,000 year business that, by 1960, promises to enroll 13,000,000 devotees. About 80 major ski lifts and innumerable rope tows now spiderweb the country and serve skiers as far south as Knoxville, Tennessee.

The famed Skimobile at North Conway, New Hampshire, wheels skiers up a long ramp on Mt. Washington, attracting hordes northward from Massachusetts by motor or ski train. And in Gorham, on Washington's other flank Home Sweet Home tucks skiers into less pretentious quarters. Bohemians of yesterday remember Gorham's rambling hotel that offered bed and cookstove for 50 cents a night and attracted countless Dartmouth College skiers.

Cannon Mountain's aerial tramway, the first in the United States, glides up for a silent mile over the pine tops of Franconia, N. H. At the Mittersill Club, designed and operated by Austrian Hubert von Pantz, skiers revel in Continental atmosphere, while most farms and houses in town hang out "Skiers Welcomed" signs, and small lodges hide among the woods. The Taft trail, scene of the National Downhill Championships in 1946, harried Chilean visitors a few years ago. Accustomed to treeless snow bowls in Portillo and Farellones, the ski ambassadors bounded off most the solid maples along the steep Eastern trail.

Ski jumping dominates the Mid-West. One chair lift, bought from Sun Valley, swings skiers uphill near Boyne City, Mich. The famed Bietila brothers grew up leaping from Suicide Hill in Ishpeming, Mich., and went on to national championships.

Further west, both Jackson Hole, Wyoming, and West Yellowstone, Montana, thrive in country that drawls in a western accent. On the approach to Jackson Hole a hand-carved sign declares, "Howdy Stranger, Yonder is Jackson Hole." Westerners in levis and cowboy boots

Norse Heritage *continued*

mingle with skiers in gabardine downhill pants, and the saloon doors flap back and forth, recalling the town's gold rush days.

Near West Yellowstone, Hans Sarbach's new Lion's Head lift opens up powder-snow country to East-West skiers funneling through the area.

This winter the downhill demon Toni Matt instructs at Whitefish, Montana's Alpine-style resort on Hell Roaring Mountain. In March the nation's nattiest downhill and slalom racers will overflow the Cadillac hotel and side-tracked Pullman cars during National Championships.

From all over the world skiers converge on Sun Valley, Idaho, stamping grounds for Hollywood stars and international celebrities. But the Valley encourages skiers with vari-sized pocketbooks by offering a 75-dollar-a-week package vacation. Eight ski lifts, the steam heated outdoor swimming pool and a beer hall belong to the vacationers.

With the best part of a million dollars, Walter Paepcke converted Aspen, Colorado, a ghost mining town, into a delightful ski resort with a 14,000 foot chair lift. The old essay office and angular Hotel Jerome stand as monuments of silver digging days when 11,000 miners roistered in the streets. Now all eyes focus on the new bonanza, snow!

Lodgings in Aspen cost anywhere from a dollar for sleeping bag space up to the sky. Winter visitors flock to hear ballad-singer Richard Dyer-Bennett entertain.

Perched high in the Wasatch Mountain National Forest, Alta overlooks the crusty salt flats around the oasis of Salt Lake City, Utah. By 1950 the Peruvian and Stillwell Lodges will welcome guests and ease the burden on the Alta Lodge. The city's colorful Mayor George Watson insists that visitors call his domain "Romantic Alta," and he personally fines offenders. Genial accommodations attract skiers to Ryden Skinner's Hellgate Cabin where guests split firewood with the management. In return Skinner and his co-worker Suzanne Antony ski with guests and join the fireside songfests. Suzanne claims that Wasatch springwater fizzes and tastes better than her native French champagne.

At the continent's edge in the Cascade Mountains, Mount Rainier, Mount St. Helens, and Mount Hood thrust 14,000 feet above the blue Pacific and sparkle summer and winter with glaciers and snowfields. Popular Timberline Lodge on Mount Hood, Ore., boasting two chair lifts, turned away 19 applicants for every room over the Christmas holidays.

North of the border at Mont Tremblant, Province of Quebec, Joe Ryan presides over a vast area of ski lifts and trails. French atmosphere flavors Tremblant Lodge, and in the woods stand tiny Habitant cabins where skiers dwell inexpensively. In the frosty morns a garçon comes to build up a fire for early risers.

Far away in the Canadian Rockies, Banff's luxurious Canadian Pacific resort huddles beneath Mt. Norquay, scene of many Canadian championship races.

Across the Pacific and "down under," New Zealanders tour and race down Mt. Cook in their own domain of mountain cabins, and the Australians forsake cities for the sibilant snows of Mt. Hotham in Victoria.

An extraordinary ski lift wends up Gulmarg, Kashmir, India, mountains. Hardy mountain horses, nicknamed the "poni-cular" carry long-legged Ski Club of India members up these foothills of the Himalayas, and native porters in leggings and flowing robes shoulder the skis.

Perhaps the Norwegian jumper Torger Tokle, who gave his life fighting for the United States in Italy, best expressed the thrill known to skiers. The young and beloved champion agreed to broadcast by radio his sensations while soaring high over a jumping hill. All eyes focussed on the graceful athlete as he leaped. All ears listened through the awe-stricken silence that followed the take-off, until at last over the loudspeaker came his comprehensive report in a reverent one-word whisper, "Yeepers!"

Ski Intelligence

UNITED STATES

California. Donner Summit. Chair Lift, 2 J-Bars, T-Bar.
Colorado. Aspen. 2 Chair Lifts, T-Bar.
Idaho. Sun Valley. 8 Chairs (total length—23,500').
New Hampshire. Cannon Mt., Franconia. Aerial Tramway, 2 T-Bars.
Eastern Slopes Region. Skimobile, T-Bar, Chair.
Oregon. Mt. Hood. 2 Chair Lifts, 4-Mile Tramway.
Utah. Alta. 3 Chair Lifts.
Vermont. Manchester area. 4 J-Bars, T-Bar.
Stowe-Mad River area. 2 Chair Lifts, T-Bar.

THE LAURENTIAN HILLS

Morin Heights. Good Touring. Elevation: 764 feet.
Ste. Agathe. Great variety of slopes and hills. 1,207 feet.
St. Jovite. Good downhill running. 701 feet.
Mount Tremblant. Finest downhill running in Eastern Canada. 3,150 feet.

THE CANADIAN ROCKIES

Mount Norquay, near Banff. A two-mile downhill course with a vertical drop of 2,800 feet and a maximum gradient of 45 degrees, 7,330 feet.
Sunshine Valley, 16 miles from Banff. Remarkable slopes.
Mount Temple. A comfortable chalet just below timberline at 6,800 feet.
The Whistler's Mountain, 1 mile from Jasper. The downhill course drops 4,600 feet in three miles.

FRANCE

Megeve. Unusually situated between the Valley of Arve and Arly, perfect snow is common, especially on the northern slopes. 3,657 feet.
Chamonix. Capital of French ski resorts situated in the middle of the Arve valley. Excellent skiing equipment, including three large telepheriques, an international skating rink, and an Olympic bob-sled run. 3,163 feet.
Val D' Isere. Snowfall is heavy and good from November 1 to May 15. Equipment includes the Solaise telepherique, two uphill cables. 5,612 feet.
Mont-Dore. This resort's ski tracks are closest to Paris. March and April are two of the best months. The amphitheater of Sancy is the center of the ski tracks of Mont-Dore. 3,203 feet.

NORWAY

Finse. On the Bergen-Oslo Railway, altitude 4,000 feet. Skiing is good till the end of May. Approximately seven hours from Oslo.
Ustaoset. On the Oslo-Bergen Railway, 3,000 feet. Starting point for many interesting skiing trips across the Hardangervidda Mountain plateau. Approximately six hours from Oslo.
Geilo. On the Oslo-Bergen Railway, 2,700 feet. Popular skiing resort with an unusually favorable climate. Approximately five and one-half hours from Oslo.
Lillehammer. The Gateway into Gunbrandsdalen Valley, East Norway. Norway's winter sports center. Four hours by rail from Oslo.
Jotunheimen, in Central Norway. Mount Galhopiggen is starting point for the famous Galhopiggen Races.
Konsberg, East Norway, approximately two hours by rail from Oslo. Home of the famous ski jumpers, the Ruud brothers.

SWEDEN

Siljansborg and Persborg on Lake Siljansborg in Dalecarlia. About five hours from Stockholm. 750 feet.
Salen, a deluxe resort above the timberline in the mountains bordering on Norway. Ten hours from Stockholm. Skiing season Christmas to April.
Are and Storlien, just east of the Norwegian border on the Stockholm-Trondheim electric railway line. Ski terrain of an alpine character. 4,260 feet.
Abisko, Bjorkliden and Riksgransen, in Sweden's highest mountain range, 150 miles north of the Arctic circle. Twenty-four hours from Stockholm. Skiing season, from Christmas to mid-June, when the midnight sun provides 24 hours' daylight. (Swedish ski resort hotels are operated on American plan, the average daily rate being $4 to $6.)

SWITZERLAND

St. Moritz. Forty hotels. Site of the '48 Winter Olympic Games. Europe's most famous winter center. Elevation 5,600 feet.
Davos. Gateway to the Parsenn skiing region. 4,700 feet.
Arosa. Along with Davos and St. Moritz forms the "Big Three" in the Grisons. 5,600 feet.
Zermatt. Superb skiing in the Gornergrat region, in the shadow of the *Matterhorn.* Especially popular for spring ski tours. 4,900 feet.
Little Scheidegg region. Grindelwald and Wengen, on either side of the plateau, are both excellent, and along with Murren, rank at the top of the many winter centers in the Bernese Oberland. 3,500-5,500 feet.
Villars. One of the leading winter resorts in French-speaking Switzerland. 3,950 feet.
Gstaad. Charming resort near the Hornberg ski fields. 3,200 feet.

The Parties
The Policies
The Politics

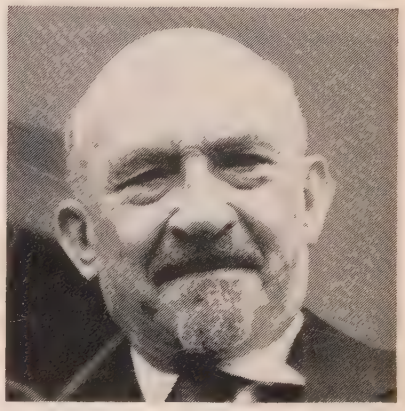
OF A STATE WHICH HAS COME INTO BEING . . .

WON INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION AND A WAR OF SURVIVAL SINCE LAST MAY

Election in Israel

Its first national poll is this month

BY M. Z. FRANK
Outstanding journalistc authority on Israel



PRIME MINISTER BEN-GURION, AT LEFT, AND PRESIDENT WEIZMANN

IN 1897, Theodore Herzl, a Hungarian journalist, founded the World Zionist Organization with the express intention of making it the machinery for the government of a democratic Jewish state in Palestine.

In 1917, the war-pressed British government recognized and confirmed the influence of Herzl's movement by issuing the Balfour Declaration—in which Britain pledged itself to foster Zionist aspirations.

In 1927, the Jewish Agency was formed. Palestine already had some 150,000 immigrants and more were coming. Composed of the executive of the World Zionist Organization, the Jewish Agency came to function as a pre-provisional government.

In 1947 (on November 29), the General Assembly of the United Nations recommended that Palestine be divided between a Jewish state and an Arab state, thus giving official international recognition to the aspirations of the World Zionists.

In 1948 (on May 14) the British government abdicated responsibility for Palestine and, simultaneously, the Jewish Agency—supplemented by representatives of non-Agency groups —transformed itself into a provisional government and proclaimed the independence of Israel.

In 1949 (on January 25) Israelites will go to the polls to elect a formal government.

The Israel Constitution will be modeled on the Western European pattern; the middle-aged of its populace are drawn largely from eastern and central Europe, its youth from the world's every corner but mainly from its own desert soil. These circumstances alone are sufficient to make its first national election of interest. And, because the electorate will vote for parties (under proportional representation) rather than personalities, the character of Israeli parties is worth examining.

MAPAI

Mifleget Poale Eretz Israel—Palestine Labor Party

It was David Ben-Gurion, chairman and strong man of the Jewish Agency, who proclaimed the state of Israel last May 14. In the government that was thereafter established, his unofficial title as chief of Jewish defense forces became legally Minister of Defense. He was also elected Prime Minister. Thus the leader of Mapai became the choice of Israel's parties to be the leader of Israel. Mapai also took over two other very important posts. Moshe Shertok, Political Secretary of the Agency, became Foreign Minister. Eliezer Kaplan, Treasurer of the Agency, became Israel's Finance Minister. A less-vital post, Communications, fell to David Remez, also of Mapai.

With three key ministries Mapai has done rather well for itself since last May—and for the nation. Kaplan has provided the funds and credits to fight a war of survival; Shertok has won support for Israel's aspirations by winning recognition from 19 nations and the support of many of them in United Nations' deliberations on its boundaries; Ben-Gurion has administered military and civilian affairs with few blunders and many successes.

In fact, the Cabinet as a whole—but particularly the Prime Minister—has shown a tremendous vitality and an ability to learn by its own mistakes. Considering its stupendous task, its relative inexperience, its shortage of great men—only Ben-Gurion deserves that adjective—its record is remarkable.

As a result, the party of Ben-

Election in Israel *continued*

Gurion is likely to be returned to power by the election this month. Certainly its chances are better than would have been predicted in May by any but its partisans.

The Mapai has often been described as the Palestine equivalent of the British Labor Party. The analogy is correct only to a point. Like the British Labor Party, it consists of heterogeneous elements—Marxian and non-Marxian, Socialists and non-Socialists, militants and anti-militarists.

Like the British Labor Party, Mapai is a strict believer in democratic principles and is strongly anti-Communist. Many of its founders and older members escaped the jails of Soviet Russia to come to Palestine and the party has a strong anti-Soviet tradition. But recently the combined efforts of Bevin, Gromyko and Forrestal have modified that tradition, just a little. The renunciation by the British Labor Party of its solemn pro-Zionist pledges has produced a deep emotional shock in the ranks of Mapai. But the shock had no appreciable effect on its political philosophy.

Mapai is unique as a political party in its unusually high content of intellectuals, in its idealism, in the part it has played in modernizing and industrializing a backward country. Mapai has a stronghold on its membership through the economic and social institutions it has created as instruments for the immigrant in his adjustment to the environment.

MAPAM

Mifleget Poalim M'uhedet—United Labor Party

The most formidable challenge to Mapai comes neither from extreme right nor left (though these are sources of bitterly vituperative attacks against Ben-Gurion) but from what is, in a sense, an outgrowth of Mapai.

Mapam is a Leftist party and one exhibiting strong leanings toward Soviet Russia—but not Communism. Its pro-Soviet orientation is, in fact, little more than the expression of an anti-British bias—the result of a belief that the USSR is Israel's natural ally against Britain.

Like Mapai, Mapam has the strength of solid pioneer achievements. Its staunchest adherents are among the youth born in the kibbutzim (collective farms). Best-known of the Mapam leadership is Moshe Sneh, a recent convert who at one time led the Jewish guerillas against British forces. So far he has merely been given the editorship of the daily newspaper of the United Party, vacated by Mordecai Bentov when he became Minister of Public Works.

The two actual leaders of Mapam are Aaron Cisling, current Minister of Agriculture and Bentov. Originally these two were members of different groups. Cisling was a member of the left wing of Mapai, Ahduth Haavodah (Unity of Labor), which broke away two years ago. Bentov is a former member of Hashomer Hatzair (The Young Scout). But the two parties merged after November 29, 1947. Cisling was a leader of a faction in Mapai which criticized the Ben-Gurion regime for its lukewarmness in promoting Socialism, its tendency to compromise and its bureaucratic habits. It demanded a more militant attitude towards the British administration, including an armed revolt if necessary, and a more vigorous prosecution of the policy of breaking Bevin's blockade on immigration. It looked forward to a Jewish majority in all Palestine, but attached little importance to the Jewish State formula and to arguments before the UN. It was opposed to partition.

Bentov's party, Hashomer Hatzair, was also opposed to partition, but it had a formula. The formula was a bi-national state in Palestine with cooperation between Jew and Arab.

Allied in Mapam with the positive socialism of Cisling and Bentov is another force, symbolized if not represented by Sneh—that is, its strong anti-British attitude. Sneh was Secretary for Security of the Jewish Agency until two years ago when Ben-Gurion, convinced that he had gone farther than necessary in military action against the mandatory power, removed him and took his place.

The emphasis of the United Party on socialism is real and is borne out by its splendid kibbutzim and cooperatives. They are intensely democratic. They refer to Russia as "the force of tomorrow," but if an attempt were made to impose upon them the kind of regime that obtains in Russia today, they would rebel. During the last war, when Soviet forces invaded Poland and Lithuania, the Hashomer Hatzair groups, for all their pro-Soviet phraseology, offered determined resistance to attempts by commissars to interfere with their internal organization.

Bentov recently made headlines by announcing an ambitious plan for building a subway from Tel-Aviv to Haifa and erecting 80,000 houses. Cisling's second in command, the Director of the Department of Agriculture, is Hayim Halpern, a member of Mapai, formerly director of the agricultural department of the Labor Federation. A number of circumstances like these could be cited to emphasize the similarity between Mapai and Mapam. Certainly if Bentov were a member of Mapai, his subway and housing projects would be the same. If Halpern were to replace Cisling, little change would be noted in agricultural policy. If, however, Sneh were to be revived from his present relative obscurity to succeed, say, Shertok, then the change in the Foreign Office would indeed be marked.

But this could take place only if Mapam won the elections by a landslide, which is hardly likely.

The basic economic policies of Mapai and Mapam do not differ very much. Both are eager to introduce as much socialism as possible, but both realize that so long as there is large immigration into Palestine, Israel will need private capital from abroad, especially from America. Mapai proposes not to commit the government to socialism and to permit the Histadruth (Labor Federation) to maintain its independent autonomous existence, going on with its socialist experimentation, as under the British administration (UNW October). Mapam demands that the government take over the Histadruth economic activities. But neither party wants to antagonize the financial contributors and investors from abroad. Mapai, however, is fearful and suspicious of any too compact organization of non-Socialist Zionists outside of Palestine and of the pressure such an organization is likely to exert on the government of Israel in balancing itself between the socialist ideal and the capitalist reality. This consideration lies behind the feud for the control of the World Zionist Organization, and for Jewish funds from America, between Palestinian Ben-Gurion and

American Abba Hillel Silver. But, in the last analysis, Mapai wants to keep American Zionists and their friends in Israel reasonably happy.

GENERAL ZIONISTS

Three cabinet posts are currently held by General Zionists whose actual numbers are not on the surface justified by the influence the group exerts. The three ministries are Commerce and Industry, held by Fritz Bernstein, German-born Dutch Zionist and representative of the conservative moneyed interests; Justice, held by Felix Rosenblueth, Berlin-born representative of Aliyah Hadasha (New Immigration); Interior, held by Isaac Gruenbaum, superannuated leader from Poland and once a member of the Polish Parliament who represents the "progressive" or pro-labor faction of the General Zionists.

Much of the weight of the party grows out of the fact that it is the favorite organization of American Zionist leadership, who are so influential in inspiring gifts and investments. The party as a whole is quite colorless, neither actively for nor violently against the socialism of labor parties or the religious program of Orthodox Zionists.

Since May, when the allocation of Cabinet seats was made, a schism has been growing between Conservative (or Regular) and Progressive factions. The main differences between the two groups is that the Progressives take a friendly attitude toward labor and favor a graduated income tax and efforts to balance the Israel budget. Curiously, though one of its leaders, Tel Aviv's Mayor Israel Rokach, has a pathological hatred of labor, the Regulars have taken much the same line. Under pressure, mainly from America, they have actually underwritten an Israeli New Deal platform.

Neither faction is likely to win powerful support in the election.

REVISIONISTS

The Revisionists has been a party of protest from the time of its organization in 1925, originally formed to combat what many considered the supine pro-British policy of Chaim Weizmann, head of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency between 1917 and 1946 and now the figurehead-President of Israel. In time, partly because Weizmann worked closely with labor leaders, the Revisionist movement became anti-labor and some of its most extreme spokesmen even toyed with Fascism.

Out of the Revisionist movement grew the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Fighters for the Freedom of Israel (Stern group). The latter has lately adopted a pro-Russian orientation. The Revisionists, as a party, advocated many measures and policies which were eventually adopted by Mapai. But their weakness lies in the fact that they have not to their credit pioneering achievements.

The Irgunists and the Sternists have produced a few spectacular leaders, like Manahem Beigin and have won a great deal of sympathy by heroic and dashing exploits against the British despite the revulsion aroused by brutal acts.

Today Revisionists are divided between those who support Beigin and his new Herouth (Freedom) faction and those who consider him an irresponsible adventurer who refuses to quit the stage after his job is done.

Neither the old Revisionists nor their offshoot have any comprehensive social and economic platform and their leaders—Beigin especially—deal in vague generalities designed to appeal to every element. Their strength at the polls will come less from their glamorous deeds of daring during wartime than from discontent of the citizenry with the manner in which the government has handled such problems as the rising cost of living and the black market.

THE VOTER

The just-mentioned disdain for dering do and dissatisfaction with domestic matters are two prominent features in a profile of the voter of Israel. The first of them should be examined more closely.

First of all, it should be understood that the Irgunists and Sternists were stronger on paper—that is, in publicity—than in actuality. The exploits of the legitimate national army did much to obscure the military achievements of the terrorists.

The shock troops of the Haganah, known as the Palmach, proved to be more heroic than either Irgun or the Stern group, both of which became notorious for their disregard for official orders. Palmach's hero is Israel Galili of Mapam, until lately Deputy Minister of Defense. Ben-Gurion and Galili clashed on several occasions, and it has sometimes appeared that Galili, the younger man and the better speaker, is the more popular with the populace.

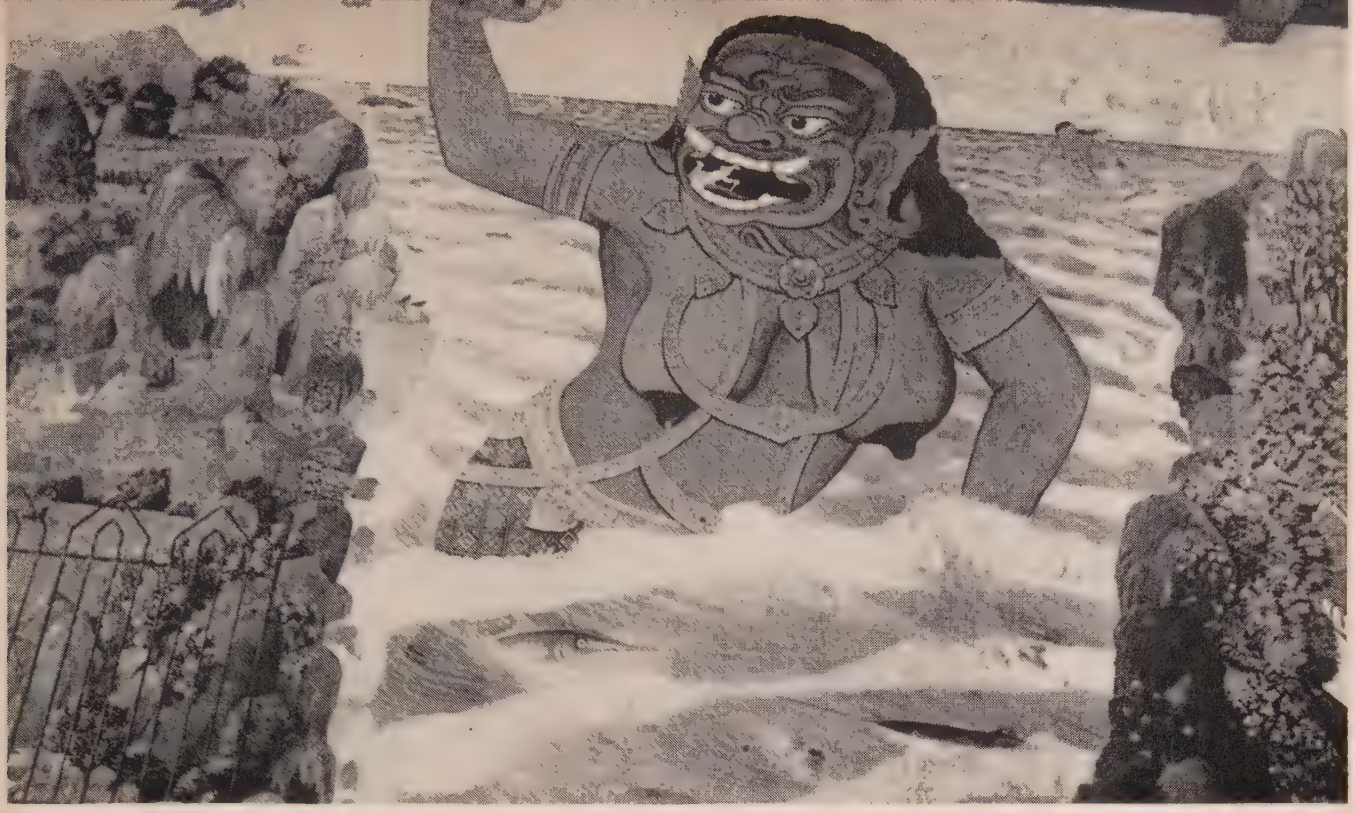
To a re-born nation, anxious to prove to itself and to the world that it is capable of governing itself, disciplined behavior has a powerful appeal. This eagerness to be reassured that their young nation can assume overnight the responsibilities—and the honors—of a member of the family of nations may well be translated into anti-Revisionist votes on January 25.

BEN-GURION PROCLAIMS the State of Israel. Aids, from left to right, are Baroch Shirtit, Police; David Remez, Communications; Fritz Bernstein, Commerce; Felix Rosenblueth, Justice; Judah Fishman, Jerusalem Commissioner; Ben-Gurion; Moshe Shapiro, Immigration; Moshe Shertok, Foreign Affairs; Eliezer Kaplan, Finance; Mordecai Bentov, Public Works, and Aaron Cisling, Agriculture.

1 Eight episodes—adventures with a vulture king, center, a demon, center left, and the Monkey God, right—are shown here. Movement is left to right, bottom to top. The start shows Rama grieving Sita's loss in his jungle hut.

Gods and Monkeys . . . with the emotion

2 Rama, now with an army, is befriended by the Monkey God which takes them into his body for protection against night attack. When the Monkey disgorges the army, it falls into ambush and Rama is seized—near the God's left elbow.



3 Hanuman has the gift of flight. A sea demon tries to capture him by catching his shadow as he flies by on his way to rescue Sita. By evasive action, Hanuman takes the offensive, darts into her mouth and out her back. She dies at upper right.

men

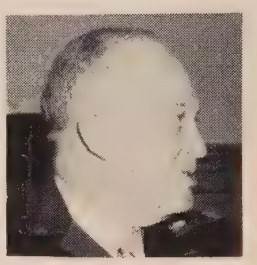
AT THE Temple of the Emerald Buddha in Bangkok, Siam, India's sacred epic, the Ramayana, is told in 178 murals, each 10 by 14 feet. Dating from 1782, the paintings are elaborate, colorful and conventional—each character identified by color or curious physical deformity. Immensely popular, they tell how Prince Rama and his brother, with the aid of the White Monkey God, Hanuman, pursue and battle the Demon King Dasakantha, who has abducted Rama's wife Sita. The murals reproduced here suggest both the art form and the legend.

4 A giant covers Lanka, city of the Demon who abducted Sita, with his tongue to guard it from Rama while he dozes on duty. At right, by night, the Demon God approaches his city, but cannot discern it through the giant's great tongue.

Hopkins

THE GENIUS OF ONE WAS IN SPENDING MONEY

Roosevelt's Two Right Hands



THAT OF THE OTHER IN NOT SPENDING MEN

Eisenhower

BY SAUL K. PADOVER

Dr. Padover, professor and historian, is also an ex-New Dealer, ex-Army colonel

THESE two books complement each other remarkably. Each combines good writing and the reports of important acts by outstanding characters. In Eisenhower's book we meet Stalin and Marshall, Churchill and Roosevelt, Patton and Zhukov, De Gaulle and Montgomery. In Sherwood's the foremost of numerous personalities are Roosevelt, Hopkins, Churchill and Stalin. The essence of the two books taken together are the stories of three men—a President, a Presidential adviser, and a General—as they affected, and were affected by, the greatest war in history.

It is a matter of simple historic justice that the first book on Harry Hopkins, perhaps the most maligned figure in the Roosevelt Administration, should have been written by Robert Sherwood, the dramatist.

Sherwood has not allowed his dramatist's sense to be blunted by the deluge of documents from which he wrote. But Truth is not subordinated to drama. And, though he has an avowed affection for Hopkins, Sherwood does not try to cover shortcomings or conceal faults.

Eisenhower's book has different virtues. Where *Roosevelt and Hopkins* is biography-history, *Crusade in Europe* is history - autobiography. Sherwood wrote from the documents and personal observation; Eisenhower wrote from personal recollection and a few documents. Eisenhower's is a ruthlessly disciplined account of command and decision. There is an almost Roman austerity about the book. Its style is clean and direct, and is saved from monotony only by the excitement inherent in the action.

Controversies over the performances of the two men are under way and no doubt will continue for decades. In this review, we shall confine ourselves to an aspect that may be even more enduring—the kind of personalities revealed by the books.

They had a number of things in common, these two small town boys who "made good." Both were reared in the Middle West, Hopkins in Iowa and Eisenhower in Kansas. They were born in the same year, 1890, and came from the ranks of the lesser middle class. Both spent the first 40-odd years of their lives in relative obscurity, being neither successes nor failures. Hopkins was unknown before the New Deal, Eisenhower before World War II. Both had sharp minds and were "typically American" in their intellectual flexibility, willingness to learn, and irrepressible pragmatism. Each had his own special genius—the one for spending money to achieve an end, the other for achieving his ends by not spending men.

What follows is the Sherwood Hopkins:

First of all, Harry Hopkins' friendship with Franklin D. Roosevelt was intimate, and their close contact was based upon sensitivity. By profession a social service worker and by emotion a liberal, Hopkins was the archetype New Dealer, loathing poverty. He spent New Deal billions on relief, with a total disregard for cost or efficiency. He was no diplomat or politician, in the early New Deal years, but a passionate reformer who at the same time had a gay devil-take-'em abandon in his character.

A thin, lanky, irascible man, capable of sharp-tongued outbursts and of no mean degree of ruthlessness, he made enemies inside and outside the New Deal, but mostly outside. As a dispenser of billions of dollars to help the needy, Hopkins was constantly pilloried by the tory press. The press hardened him, taught him to play naked politics, and ultimately made him indispensable to that other

supreme master of politics: FDR.

As the world crisis mounted after 1939, Hopkins became more and more a personal aide to Roosevelt. In the end, he gave up his other positions and simply moved into the White House where the President, despite a continuous stream of poisonous attacks on Hopkins, made him literally his *alter ego*. In July 1941, the President sent Hopkins to Moscow with this note to Stalin: "I ask you to treat him with the identical confidence you would feel if you were talking directly to me."

In January 1941, Roosevelt invited his defeated opponent, Wendell Willkie, to the White House and asked him to go on a mission to England. In London, the President added, Willkie could consult Hopkins. Willkie, who despised Hopkins, asked sharply: "Why do you keep Hopkins so close to you? You surely must realize that people distrust him and resent his influence." To which Roosevelt replied: "I can understand that you wonder why I need that half man around me. But—someday you may well be sitting where I am now as President of the United States. And when you are, you'll be looking at that door over there and knowing that practically everybody who walks through it wants something of you. You'll learn what a lonely job this is, and you'll discover the need for somebody like Harry Hopkins who asks for nothing except to serve you."

In return Hopkins was favored with Roosevelt's strong support. After his epoch-making visit to Moscow, he assured Roosevelt that Russia would resist Hitler, and successfully. This assertion flew in the face of all military "experts" and advisers but it became the basis of our policy of aid to Russia. Roosevelt made Hopkins his living link between Stalin on one hand and Churchill on the other. But it was Hopkins himself who won their full confidence.

His monumental services were recognized and deeply appreciated by the military. General Eisenhower said of him: "He had a grasp of the broad factors in military problems that was almost phenomenal and he was selflessly devoted to the purpose of expediting victory. He never spared himself." Admiral Stark wrote to him: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant. . . . My gratitude for all you have done for our country. We all owe you much." And Secretary of War Stimson noted in his diary: "I think it is a godsend that he should be at the White House."

In sum, the Hopkins character which emanates from Sherwood's book is that of a special kind of public servant. No claim of greatness is made for him, but under Roosevelt he grew to be a great instrument of public policy. His knowledge of men was sure and sharp; his judgment of affairs perceptive and balanced. He had no vision, such as Roosevelt had. Given a problem to execute, he did it swiftly and directly, but he distrusted theorists and "talkers." Churchill called him "Lord Root of the Matter."

When war broke out, Eisenhower was so obscure that in a newspaper photograph, taken after maneuvers with other officers, he was identified as "Lt. Col. D. D. Ersenbeing." Two years later the victor of North Africa was a world famous figure. For Roosevelt, he was a happy choice—though General Marshall's more than the President's.

Eisenhower's peculiar qualities may be described as a sense of tact and a sense of democracy. These characteristics made him an ideal selection as the supreme leader of the Allied armies. Eisenhower not only had to be the supreme planner of campaigns but also the supreme diplomat among antagonistic allies. He worked amidst ruffled feathers and frayed tempers, jealousies, hates and intrigues. It is an extraordinary tribute to Eisenhower—evident but not flaunted in his book—that he succeeded in his task and, in doing so, aroused wide affection and esteem.

The British, in particular, came to respect and trust him, once they recognized that he was both fair and firm. Eisenhower tells that so long as he lives he will not forget the reply of crusty Admiral Sir Andrew Cunningham whom he asked, in the fall of 1943, to send the British battle fleet into the heavily mined Taranto Harbor. "Sir," Cunningham said, "His Majesty's Fleet is here to go wherever you may send it!"

Like Hopkins, Eisenhower is revealed to be an intensely practical and straightforward man. There is no "side" to him, and no conceit. I detect nowhere any evidence of the "military" mind, no arbitrariness, no posturings, no mouthings about glory. An extremely intelligent man. Eisenhower knows, and says, that war is wasteful, cruel, the last word in human stupidity. If I understand him right, he regards himself not as a hero but as a citizen and professional man doing a necessary job.

He is, I think, an American in the best sense of that word—a person brought up to believe in decency, fair play, and a deep regard for his fellow men. He likes and respects people, he wants their good opinion. He fought the war always with a feeling for the men involved in it, for their sufferings and sacrifices.

One incident in the book is subtly revealing. As we were on the verge of crossing the Rhine, in March, 1945, Eisenhower fell in with a young soldier who seemed nervous. "How are you feeling, son?" the five-star general asked. "General," said the boy, "I'm awful nervous. I don't feel so good." "Well," Eisenhower said to him, "you and I are a good pair then, because I'm nervous too. . . . Maybe if we just walk along together to the river we'll be good for each other."

In *Crusade in Europe* there is little expression of personal feeling, but one paragraph tells us much about Eisenhower's character. He writes that, despite the long-established military tradition which requires victorious generals to meet, or shake hands with, the defeated enemy, he refused ever to meet a captive German officer. He felt too deeply about the war, he said, to have any personal dealings with Nazi generals.

He ends his book on a positive note of hope for liberty, human dignity, and a limitation of national sovereignties for the welfare of all men. Quite a general, this man Eisenhower!

Roosevelt and Hopkins. BY ROBERT E. SHERWOOD.
New York, Harper & Brothers, $6.

Crusade in Europe. BY DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.
New York, Doubleday & Company, $5.

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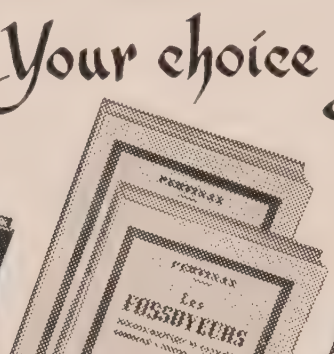

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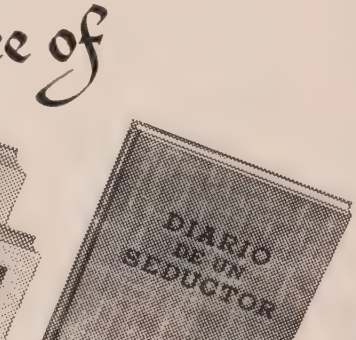

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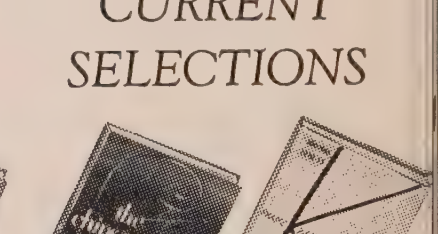

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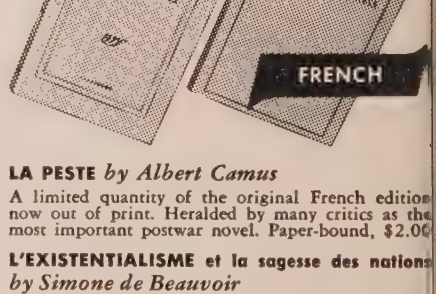

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World Books *continued*

ELOQUENT IN HINDSIGHT

The Nightmare of American Foreign Policy

by Edgar Ansel Mowrer. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, $2.95.

Here is an unusually lively and dynamic study of American foreign policy since World War I. One of its chief values derives from the fact that the author has his own philosophy of history which he applies to current events. Mr. Mowrer is convinced that the sole purpose of politics is *power* and that any other consideration on the part of a state than the conservation and exercise of its superior power is bound to backfire in the most dangerous manner.

In this light Mr. Mowrer declares that FDR saved America by cutting away from the folly of isolationism and by preparing for our entry into the war. By the same token, however, he makes Mr. Roosevelt directly responsible for the present catastrophic relationship between the US and the USSR. "In planning for peace," Mr. Mowrer writes, "FDR bet the future of the American people on one card: that the Soviet Union would prefer peace and collaboration with the West to armed and ideological expansion. . . . He deliberately took the risk. And he lost. . . . Compared to 'what Roosevelt did at Teheran and Yalta,' 'what Wilson did at Paris' seemed a monument of statesmanship."

These strong statements are open to discussion both on the basis of facts and of general political principles. Certainly the eye-witness accounts of Harry Hopkins and of James Byrnes fail to bear out the sinister implications of "what Roosevelt did at Teheran and Yalta," and it is equally certain that the President was hostile to carving Europe up into spheres of interest, a policy favored by both Stalin and Churchill.

Not unwilling to use hindsight, Mr. Mowrer suggests a 17-point program which, if applied in time, would have prevented the expansion of Soviet imperialism after the war. Among his recommendations are the use of Lend-Lease as a weapon for applying political pressure, the dangling of the possibility of a separate peace over the head of Stalin, and other drastic measures, the sum total of which amounts to a full fledged political war against a military ally. Such a course of action is unprecedented in history, and the nearest thing to it would be the relationship between Badoglio and Hitler, a relationship which can't be characterized either as edifying or as successful. Also, Mr. Mowrer seems to forget that as late as the spring of 1945 many top US military leaders foresaw the possibility that the war against Japan might be prolonged another three years.

Those who suggest that the fight against the danger of Russian imperialism should have gone on concurrently with the war against the Axis not only overestimate the limits of American power, but over-simplify historic processes. Three cornered fights such as favored by Mr. Mowrer simply don't occur among nations. Power positions are gained or lost gradually by a process of elimination in space and time.

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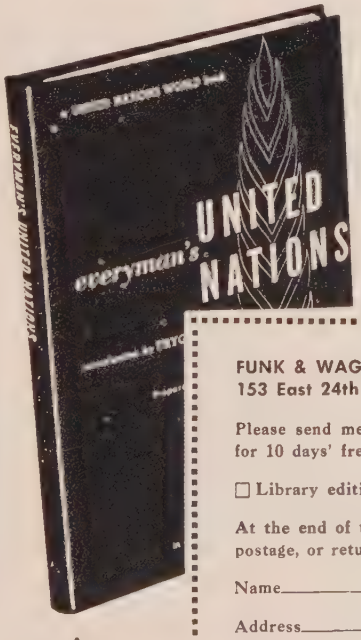

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World Books *continued*

But Mr. Mowrer is right in stating that this slow deployment of history and its prolonged consequences amount to a nightmare which is sorely trying all our moral and intellectual resources.

Whether or not one agrees with every point Mr. Mowrer makes, one cannot but admire the brilliance of his mind and the warm eloquence of his style. T. K.

TOWARD FREEDOM

The Fall of the Spanish American Empire

by Salvador de Madariaga. New York, Macmillan Company. $5.00.

Continuing his study of Hispanic America begun in "The Rise of the Spanish American Empire" which was published last year, the distinguished historian Salvador de Madariaga now sets the scene for the Wars of Independence of the Spanish colonies. He discusses the impact of the *conquistadores* (who sought "not wealth, nor even power, but greatness") on the Indians; the friction between the Spaniards born in Spain and those born in America (Creoles); and the forcible influx of African Negroes into the New World as slaves.

An amazing amount of disorganized conflict went on in the New World among these different elements before the Wars of Independence; Andalusians against Castillians, Basques against Spaniards from other provinces, conquistadors against vested powers, Indians against Spaniards, Negroes against Whites. With the infiltration of the ideas of Voltaire, Rousseau and Raynal into Spanish America, with the incitement of the French and American Revolutions and the Negro Revolution in Haiti, came the "precursors of Bolivar."

Mr. Madariaga's book ends with the most outstanding of the early revolutionaries, Francisco Miranda of Venezuela, who sought aid in Europe for his plans of Spanish-American independence.

Madariaga discusses the Spanish Empire with fairness and balance, assessing faults carefully and imparting a sense of the real complexity of the situation. His book is packed with colorful detail and enriched with a thick supplement of notes and some early prints of Latin American life. A scholarly work, though in no way forbidding, it makes fascinating reading. A. P.

40,000 NAMES

World Biography

Institute for Research in Biography, New York. $25.

This excellent two-volume reference book weighs 20 pounds, contains in 5,120 pages short biographies of 40,000 living world leaders from 65 countries. The bulk of the material comes from the USA which is represented by 16,000 names. Great Britain has 4,000, Scandinavia 2,500, Canada 1,400, France 1,300 and Russia 1,200 names listed. According to the publishers, the work has been compiled at a cost of $250,000. Here is an ambitious project executed with great skill and integrity and offering welcome help to research workers.

LINGUA MYSTICA

The Miraculous Birth of Language

by Richard A. Wilson. Preface by George Bernard Shaw. New York, The Philosophical Library. $3.75.

When the first edition of this book was printed, the author, Professor Emeritus at the University of Saskatchewan, sent a copy to Bernard Shaw. The patriarch of language, who had hitherto thought of Saskatchewan in connection with "ochred and feathered Indians" was electrified. He set wheels turning toward the publication of the present popular edition with an irascible preface by himself.

Dr. Wilson treats the origin of language philosophically, assuming a phase in history when man—the end product of a world-force which activates the great wheel of evolution—awakens to conscious perception of his own and the world's nature. At that moment the world-mind breaks free of limiting senses, and becomes supra-sensuous. Spaceless and timeless, it yet encompasses and contains Space and Time. In order to fix, centralize, and use this miraculous heritage, man (or purposive world-mind through man) invented language. Language, therefore, concludes Professor Wilson, is the image of the supra-sensuous, spaceless and timeless cosmos.

The Wilson thesis is, obviously, in conflict with Darwin's opinion, still generally held, which views human language as differing not in kind but in degree from the calls of animals. It disagrees with all mechanistic views which deny the operation of a purposive world-force in the affairs of the world.

Bernard Shaw's entertaining preface is better read last, for it points out what a muddle man has made of his miracle. Comparing English unfavorably to Pidgin English, he gives his own suggestions for the amelioration, elucidation, and possible elimination of the language. B. S.

EYES UPWARD

No Place to Hide

by David Bradley, Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. $2.00.

The message in this slight volume (182 pages) is set down in non-technical and often surprisingly beautiful prose. Its meaning is clear beyond any hope of comfort in the possibility that one has misunderstood; there is no place to hide from atom bombs.

Dr. David Bradley was a member of the Radiological Safety Section in the atomic bomb tests at Bikini, whose mission it was to determine the amount of radio-activity set off by the bombs and to protect from it personnel participating in the tests.

"No Place to Hide" is the log he kept before and after the fourth and fifth atomic bombs were exploded. This log was published, the author explains in a prologue, in protest against the attitude of press and public toward the tests. He quotes a sentence about the *Independence*, one of the test ships, now resting in San Francisco harbor: "It is best . . . to view this awful symbol of a possible future from a San Francisco hillside."

But Dr. Bradley demands participants, not spectators. "The atomic era, fortunately or otherwise, is now man's environment, to control or to adapt himself to as he can. Sooner or later 'the public' will have to leave their exposed positions on that San Francisco hillside and either retire into caves or come down and take over their *Independence*."

The log begins on the day of departure from San Francisco, May 29, 1947, and with sensitiveness, humor, and philosophical asides, born of comprehension of the awesomeness of the force being unleashed, follows Task Force One through preparation, execution and aftermath of Operation Crossroads until October 9.

It presents both human drama and scientific analysis with forceful if calm impressiveness. And though Dr. Bradley draws a sobering picture of the future of Man who can make an atom bomb, he at the same time holds out hope to mankind through his own spiritual attitude which is made manifest apparently unconsciously. Forced to be concerned with destruction, Dr. Bradley can still see "the mysterious Pacific muttering away among the crevasses and caverns of the reef, and the waves sweeping in over the shallows, like bolts of lace unrolling on the beach," and a "sunset (which) has thrown a perfect rainbow over all the eastern panorama, its splendor seeming to hint that though your feet may be tangled in night, there is no limit to the earth's beauty if you will but raise your eyes." A. B.

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WORLD TRADE

JANUARY, 1949

ONE MAN CAN WHEEL a barrow load of the pale, once-costly pigs (page 48).

ALUMINUM—BILLION-DOLLAR METAL

EMIL SCHRAM ON FOREIGN INVESTMENTS *Page 44*

EUROPEAN LIQUOR FOR US DOLLARS *Page 46*

AN ANALYSIS OF OPPORTUNITIES

AND INDUCEMENTS ENCOURAGING—

AND BARRIERS DISCOURAGING—

INVESTMENT OF AMERICAN CAPITAL ABROAD

THE AUTHOR

The President of the New York Stock Exchange

Emil Schram Speaks Hi

In 1941 one of the country's more conservative papers lamented that Emil Schram's election as President of the New York Stock Exchange was a sign that this body had "abjectly surrendered to Federal Bureaucracy." For at that time Schram was Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), a mighty sinew of the Roosevelt Administration. But during seven years in a difficult post Schram has earned the profound respect of the business community for being immensely capable, forthright, tough-minded, and very much his own man—as the opinions expressed in this exclusive interview confirm.

Tall, portly, blue-eyed and baldish, with a baritone boom in his voice, he is Hoosier-born, 55 years old, a Presbyterian and a Democrat. But, though New Deal bred, Mr. Schram is decidedly of the Jesse Jones rather than the Harry Hopkins persuasion.

1 *If the ITO charter is ratified by the member governments, and the ITO becomes a going concern, will the consequent freer flow of trade "automatically" open up new channels for capital investment?*

The International Trade Organization charter is a step in the right direction, a necessary preliminary before Europe becomes attractive as a field for the investment of United States private capital. Nothing is more important in the long run than for the United States to increase its imports.

As far as Europe is concerned, it will not be enough to restore the economies of the once-great nations of Western Europe. As a necessary sequel we must take another look at our tariffs and decide what we could import from Europe that would serve the best interests of a world economy and the American economy.

The United States is the world's largest producer and consumer, in addition to being the world banker. The road to co-operation with Western Europe does not lie in our banking function, but in the amount of goods we can profitably purchase there. Neither borrowers nor lenders are universally popular, but customers always are.

With our large domestic consumption, we are in immediate need of stockpiling raw materials (copper and petroleum for example) and could use imports of this kind to advantage.

If the United States was in position to purchase 10% of its consumption from abroad, we would not have to worry about making friends and influencing peoples. If we purchased what we could from Western Europe, the countries there would become fertile markets for the products in which we excel—automobiles, refrigerators, anything that adds to the convenience of life—and the often repeated phrase "dollar shortage" would disappear from European cables.

2 *To what extent will European production, as expanded within the Marshall Plan, provide a sound basis for U.S. private investment capital?*

There will be no satisfactory basis for private investment in European production until the Marshall Plan has

Mind

lifted Europe from economic prostration. At the present time, the outlook is too uncertain to attract the private investor, either individual or institutional. With our own industry starved for capital due to undermaintenance during the war and during the depression of the 30's, there is an abundance of opportunity for investment capital in the United States. The natural attraction as far as private capital is concerned is from Europe to the United States rather than from the United States to Europe. European investors would like to get their funds into United States industries where they feel their money would be safer and more profitably employed. In order to interest private capital, Europe will have to offer the American investor opportunities more attractive than those available in the United States. Investors must receive an advantage to risk their capital in Europe, and certain safeguards should be set up to prevent previous unfortunate experiences. In any country outside the United States the investor should be convinced that the enterprise:

(1) has a sound economic basis;
(2) is managed by men who know their business and who have a sense of responsibility to the public;
(3) is located in a country which will permit enterprise to operate on business principles, earn a profit and transmit the earnings to the owner.

3 *Do you think that any such investment will be mainly through the medium of foreign-owned and operated enterprise, or rather through branches of American companies established abroad?*

At present, it is mainly through the branches of subsidiaries of American companies. There is, of course, a certain amount of small enterprise. For example, G.I.'s who have married European girls and remained in Europe, have sensed the opportunities to open coffee shops, "hot dog" or hamburger stands, soda fountains and other typical American services.

4 *How will investments in new capital goods for the consumer market, together with defense outlays, affect the available capital for investment overseas?*

Both will delay the overseas investment of United States private capital.

5 *Which are the countries or areas, if any, which potentially afford a fertile field for U.S. investment, but where legislative obstructions tend to discourage it unduly?*

England, the Scandinavian countries, France, Italy, the Middle East and Latin America.

6 *How is U.S. investment abroad affected by the nationalization of banking institutions and industries?*

Adversely. The older nationalization of banks, railroads and public utilities does not have the present importance in discouraging private capital as the recently proposed nationalization of the British steel industry.

7 *What, in your opinion, are the chief deterrents to U.S. private capital investment abroad? In this respect, is the relative stability of world currencies a basic impediment?*

The spread of Communism, the prevalence of Socialism and the present attitude of foreign governments toward United States private capital are all long-run impediments, although the relative instability of world currency, or "funny money" as it is sometimes called, is an important current impediment.

8 *What are the main areas of potential investment for U.S. private capital abroad—in Asia, in the Middle East, in Europe, in Latin America and in Africa?*

Middle East, South Africa and Latin America.

9 *What measures should be invoked by governments abroad to attract U.S. capital?*

Nothing would be as important to the United States investor as a turn to the right in foreign economies. At the present time, he has little or no faith in the governments of Europe and Asia and not enough confidence in Latin American governments to justify substantial investment. Despite their reluctance to do so, our established American companies have had to overcome their hesitation and invest substantial amounts in foreign countries to obtain essential raw materials such as oil, copper and other metals.

To supply a firm foundation for investment abroad, the United States economy must become integrated with foreign economies. After this has taken place the best basis for cooperation lies in a partnership of our private capital with the private capital of the country involved. United States capital would feel safer and would probably be better compensated in an arrangement of this sort. "Absentee landlords" are seldom popular and it would be comparatively easy for the Communists to undermine the position of the U.S. investor unless he had local support.

WINE COMES TO THE PARIS MARKET. HALLE AUX VINS

Europe's Alcoholi

THE PROBLEM IS NOT OVER BUT UNDER CONSUMPTION

AMERICAN DRINKERS ARE TURNING TO BOURBON

TO DOMESTIC GIN, RYE AND RUM

BIBBERS ARE BUYING MEAT AND MILK

INSTEAD OF THE FINE VINTAGES OF FRANCE

OR THE PEAT-SMOKED BARLEY WHISKEY OF SCOTLAND

BY MARJORIE TAGGART WHITE

THE barley malt is drying over the peat fires amid the plaid scenery of the Highlands, and the white oaken casks again are filled with a smoky liquid aging into Scotch.

In the vineyards of Cognac, Champagne, and Burgundy, as well as in Italy, Spain and Portugal, the grapes of 1948 have been pressed and the wine set down in dark cool cellars. But today the old world's vintners and distillers ply their ancient crafts with minds only half fixed on the work at hand.

Their other concern is the American market. For US buying of Europe's potables has been going down

Worries

steadily since the golden days of 1946. In that year, the US spent for such imports the not inconsiderable sum of $95.3 million—nearly twice the pre-war peak of $50 million. But in 1947 this line on the sales graph of world trade dropped some 30 per cent to $65.9 million and in 1948 it moved down another 1½ per cent.

In the first place, the US is spending quite a lot less for drink than it did only two years ago. Many millions of dollars that 24 months ago were spent for table drinks have been diverted to pay for dearer meat and milk.

Nevertheless, US consumption of bar liquor—rye, bourbon, Scotch, rum, gin, brandy—is still up as compared with a decade ago. Currently, US drinkers are putting away some 178 million gallons in cocktails and highballs as against 134.7 in 1939. But a very definite and discernible resistance has set in toward the purchase of imported table wines and brandy (a number of which have been cut in price as a result).

Compared with pre-war, however, prices are still relatively high. Today *bon vivants* have to pay $2 more for imported champagne than they did before the war when a fifth retailed at $3 to $5. American champagne still sells within this price range, but even it isn't moving. Faring badly, too, is *Le Vin Fine* from the chalky fields of Cognac—down 74 per cent from its 1946 boom sales to the US of 769,000 gallons. It has nearly doubled in price over the past 20 months until a good medium quality now sells at around $7 as against $3 to $4 for domestic cognac, which is doing only moderately well. Significantly, exports of cheap Spanish brandy to the US have declined to their lowest pre-war mark, about 25,000 gallons a year.

Similarly, the historic and mellow vintages of Bordeaux, Burgundy, Sauterne, Alsace and other renowned wine regions in France have been finding few takers, and French wine exports to the US tumbled 61 per cent in 1948. Prospects are that the pre-war average of 450,000 gallons will not be reached in 1949. (On the other hand, Italy has made a surprise showing with the extraordinary success of its Chiantis and Marsalas and in 1949 is expected to top its pre-war average of 280,000.)

Such foreign vintages at $2.50 to $3 a bottle are no match, in terms of price, for domestic wines which sell for as little as 49 cents a fifth. Of course US wines are not in the same quality bracket, but most Americans find their pocketbooks more sensitive than their tastebuds.

It is a crowning irony for a dollar-hungry Europe (which traditionally has looked to its wine and liquor sales in the US as a substantial source of dollars) that US duties on bottled imports have been cut from one-third to one-half just when the domestic tax is at its highest—$9 a gallon since 1944. The cuts agreed to by the US last year, for example, reduce the duty on a fifth of Scotch from 50 cents to 30 cents. But a 20 cent margin doesn't mean much, with Scotch at $5 to $7 a fifth. The 1939 prices, even with the higher tariff imposts, were only $3 to $4.

This tax paradox is rendered more of a handicap by inflated costs in Europe for labor, materials, transportation. Britain's comparative success in coping with inflation in large measure explains its success in bucking the trend of declining sales to the US. Scotch has done better than any foreign potable. The wartime blackout on Scotch distilling from 1940 to 1944 compelled Britain to cut deeply into precious reserves of aged whiskey in order to maintain exports after V-E day. British law requires all Scotch to be at least three years old, and US trade agreement with the UK stipulates four.

The grain shortages of austerity have not helped Britain to overcome the lag, and her total stocks suitable for Scotch now stand at half the normal pre-war supply. Since blenders now use an assortment of older whiskies, varying in age and in character, for present bottling it is extremely difficult to establish uniformity for any given year.

During 1947 and 1948 Scotch exports to the US reached some 6.4 million gallons, a figure not too far short of the 1939 peak of 7.6 million gallons. To achieve this, millions of Britons have gone without and watched some 50 per cent of their Scotch siphoned off to the American market: British spartanism and the dollar famine combining to keep alive a cultivated American thirst.

Ever since the late nineteen-thirties, of course, Britain has depended heavily on whiskey exports for dollar exchange. Today that dependence is multiplied manyfold. But whether the British can expand their Scotch exports to the US much beyond the current level is a moot point. Some quarters in the liquor trade believe that the market won't take more. Wartime scarcity, they point out, forced many Scotch drinkers to turn to ryes, bourbons, rums. A good many have lost the habit of the smoky barley distillate, and a good many more simply cannot afford to buy it any longer.

The immediate outlook for European wine, brandy and whiskey as a key source of dollars for hard-pressed ERP countries, therefore, remains at best fair to middling.

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Policy Report on World Trends in Aluminum

IN WARTIME THIS ASSEMBLY LINE WAS TURNING OUT PROPELLER PARTS

BY THE EDITORS

LESS THAN a hundred years ago, the price of aluminum was $545 a pound. Today its current average price is 15 cents a pound. This difference of $544.85 is a chronicle that can be checked, step by step, in time and techniques, to give an exact account of advances in research, in mining, and in manufacturing.

This evolution of aluminum from one of the rarest metals to one of the commonest is, primarily, the triumph of scientific progress. Technological certitudes, which made it possible, also made possible two world wars and threaten a third—in which, incidentally, aluminum has occupied and will occupy an increasingly important role. In fact, one might say that the price of the pale, light metal is the gauge of mankind's capacity for potential mass suicide.

The idea of moral progress, which was the 19th century's certitude and the 20th's platitude, was upset by World War I and all but destroyed by World War II. To many minds, the concept of a humanity striving ever onward and upward, in the direction of a new perfectionism and a higher perfectibility, was smothered in the acrid, oily smoke that poured from the mass crematories of the Nazis. They saw in the billowing mushroom cloud that formed over atomized Hiroshima an awesome, if esthetic, symbol of anesthetized world conscience—or even of a reversion to the consciousness of the brute in which intelligence is but superior cunning in the kill.

There are others, no doubt fewer, who affirm that man's moral status is as good, if not better, today than ever before. They are those who are convinced that the setbacks of yesterday's nuclear barbarism will be more than compensated for by tomorrow's atomic beneficence.

This debate makes obvious how much simpler is the task of assessing mechanical progress, as against moral progress. The records of mechanical progress are clear and free of references to such multi-valued terms as good and evil, sin and redemption, guilt and atonement, mea culpa and pro patria. Its criteria are concrete and can be checked and verified—as is the case of aluminum.

The original impetus which was to transfer aluminum from a precious

metal category into that of the commercial metals stemmed from the ambition of Napoleon III to have the French Army travel light. In military affairs, this was the Emperor's *idée fixe:* to lighten equipment, from the canteen of the footslogging poilu to the helmet and breastplate of the hussar, and so assure speed and mobility from which would flow victory in the field.

When, therefore, the French chemist, Henri Sainte-Claire Deville, exhibited a bar of aluminum at the Paris Exposition in 1855, the Emperor was fascinated by its potentialities as a martial metal. It was light, it was malleable, altogether ideal for his aims. But it was far too expensive. Promptly he commissioned Deville to find a way of turning it out more cheaply and in infinitely greater quantity.

And as Deville, under the pressure of royal favor, perfected his process —that of heating a mixture of aluminum chloride and sodium—the price swiftly fell to $17 a pound in 1859. But Deville could not achieve sufficient quantity to enable Napoleon to "alumnize" his army, even though in that year production in France accounted for nearly all of world production—a total of two tons.

Even though Deville failed in his original purpose, to the profound disappointment of his Emperor, he accomplished two results. He demonstrated the commercial possibilities of aluminum. Even more importantly, he stimulated interest in this metal on the part of other scientific researchers, notably the young American, Charles Martin Hall, and the young Frenchman, Paul Louis Toussaint Hérault. Both were the same age, 22, when in the same month of February, 1888, though working independently 3000 miles apart, they discovered the electrolytic process for producing aluminum.

For the first time, the metal which had eluded isolation at low cost could be made available in ever-increasing amounts. The Hall-Hérault achievement was the more remarkable because of aluminum's age-old paradox: the earth's most abundant metallic element, it does not occur in a pristine state, as an actual metal. Invariably it is found locked with other substances, with oxides, silicates, and the like. While backyard clay and mountain rock all harbor some aluminum, the expense of segregating it from the embrace of interlaced ingredients remains so high, even today, that virtually all the globe's aluminum is extracted from a single source: the ore bauxite, supersaturated with aluminum-hydroxide particles.

Bauxite, named after the French village Les Baux, where it first was mined, is scattered over many parts of the world with a kind of geological abandon. In Europe, considerable bauxite deposits exist in France, Hungary, Italy, Yugoslavia and Greece, and less plentifully, in Spain, Rumania, and the USSR.

In the Far East, staggering tonnages are found in North China, in India, in Pakistan, in Malaya, in Indonesia. Australia's reserves have hardly been worked. And in Africa there are prodigious and totally untapped deposits in Mozambique, French Guinea, and the Gold Coast.

In South America, British Guiana and Surinam (Dutch Guinea) are major sources of supply, the latter furnishing 65 per cent of all bauxite used in the United States, where Arkansas has important beds and lesser ones are located in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee and Virginia. It occurs also in Canada, Haiti, the West Indies, Jamaica and the Dominican Republic.

And bauxite is variable as a chameleon and tricky as a coquette. It can be granite-hard or soft as swamp muck. It can be yellow, red or white. It can "outcrop" close to the earth's surface and can be readily attacked with scoop and scraper in open-pit mining methods as soon as the "over-burden" or top-layer of dirt and gravel are removed. On the other hand, it can be as deeply encysted in the earth's womb as coal.

In converting bauxite into aluminum, the impurities that cling so tenaciously have to be detached from the aluminum hydroxide which in turn has to be transformed into the oxide called alumina which is the basic metal of the aluminum industry as pig iron is to steel. The overwhelming importance to posterity of the Hall-Hérault discovery was their proof that an electric current could separate the hydrogen from the alumina. Refinements of their process steadily reduced the price of aluminum from $17 a pound in Deville's day, 1855, to $5 in 1889, to $2 in 1895, to 34 cents in 1914, and 15 cents at present.

Even as its prices declined, however, aluminum gained only a slow and grudging acceptance among builders and manufacturers who continued to prefer the traditional metals of iron, steel, brass and copper. Aluminum was still a novelty in 1884. In that year the 100-ounce pyramidal casting of aluminum made to serve as the capstone of the Washington monument was exhibited at Tiffany's.

To build a market for its product, the Aluminum Company of America, the corporation founded by Hall and his associates, concentrated on the kitchen. It set out to persuade the US housewife that aluminum pots, pans and kettles were not new fangled notions but efficient utensils since they were non-toxic, capable of conducting heat, and could be cleaned and scoured easily. Subsequently, as uses for aluminum multiplied, it became the parts for the kitchen range and the washing-machine in the basement, the metal for ice-cube trays, toasters, mixers, percolators, waffle "irons" and the vacuum cleaner in the closet.

But what has made aluminum into the "20th century metal" is less its merit in cookery and other household tasks (even though kitchen ware and home appliances still total 16 per cent of all US aluminum sales) but rather its ever-increasing uses in modern industry. Accounting for this trend are the five characteristics of today's aluminum:

■ It is more flexible and adaptable in terms of sizing and shaping than any other metal. It can be moulded or rolled into heavy plates, sheets, bars, rods, or into foil so thin that 10 layers only equal in thickness one newspaper page. It can be stranded, like rope, into cables, or drawn into wire ten times finer than human hair.

■ It mixes readily with other metals such as copper, silicon, manganese, magnesium, and chromium to achieve greater alloyed strength, hardness, ductility, and ease in handling.

■ It is incredibly light. A cubic inch of aluminum weighs only one third as much as steel, copper, iron, or brass, giving three times as much area coverage.

■ It resists rust and corrosion to an amazing extent. When the metallurgists of the US Bureau of Standards examined the Washington monument capstone after 50 years, they found it had remained virtually impervious

Aluminum *continued*

to the effects of wind, rain, snow, sun and the vaporings of Congress.

■ It is infinitely cheaper than other commercial metals — (1) because bauxite deposits seem virtually inexhaustible; (2) because of constant progress in extractive and fabricating techniques; (3) because the US branch of the aluminum industry believes firmly in the virtues of high volume and low unit cost; (4) because of a postwar expansionist mood based on ever higher US demand and confidence in the future of the American economy. Since 1939, for example, the price of lead has increased 200 per cent, that of zinc 131 per cent, tin 100 per cent, copper 95, steel 48. The price of aluminum has gone down 25 per cent.

Taken together, these attributes of aluminum explain why it has been persistently encroaching on markets once dominated by other metals. Although this trend has been in part accentuated by the over-all scarcity of the older metals, a survey of the ever-increasing industrial uses of aluminum shows it to be replacing or edging out competitors in many fields, such as:

Building Construction: Aluminum roofing and siding are employed more and more for warehouses, factories, silos, hangars, even churches. The historic Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City was re-roofed last summer with sheet aluminum. Aluminum windows are gaining popularity not only for dwellings but also for non-residential structures. One example: the new US Naval Hospital in Houston, where 2000 were installed.

Aluminum exteriors for office buildings are being adopted by architects from Portland, Oregon, to Boston. It is also being used for spandrels, cornices, lobby facings. Engineers use it to floor bridges.

Aluminum is even being specified in blueprints for dragline booms, shovel dippers, cranes and hoists and other "heavy" industrial equipment.

Transportation: The aluminum frame is standard equipment for both military and civilian aircraft. A special aluminum alloy skin has been developed to sheathe rocket ships and enable them to withstand the terrific pressure which builds up as they move into the sonic speed zone.

The tensile strength of aluminum —as well as its light weight, has endeared it to designers of buses and trucks. It is used for body construction, bumpers, doors, lighting fixtures, pistons, cylinder heads, camshaft gears. Aluminum bearings and axles also find a ready market.

In passenger cars, aluminum which was first used to build an auto in 1902 lost out between 1923 and 1939 to annealed steel which could be easily welded and pressed. Today aluminum is regaining lost ground, and several car makers are seriously considering imitating the 1902 performance. Aluminum in brakes, grills, distributors, carburetors and many other parts has claimed a high priority during the last two decades.

In 1949 streamlined aluminum trains will highball over the railroads of America. Ten per cent of all new American passenger trains will be fashioned principally of aluminum which is also displacing steel for freight cars—box, tank, refrigerator and hopper. Recently the city of Chicago has built a new string of elevated cars of aluminum.

This year also will witness launching of four new fleets of passenger-freight vessels chiefly of aluminum.

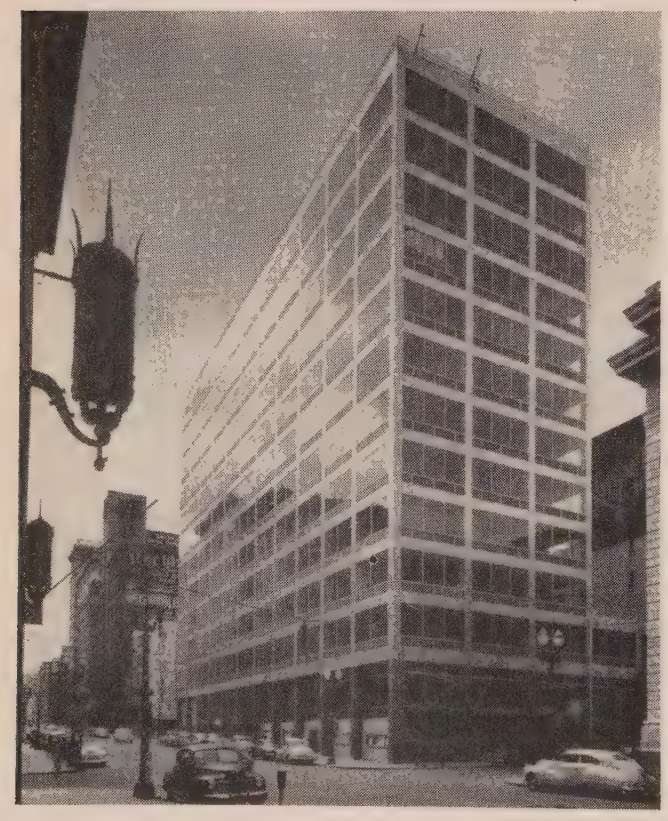
Industrial Equipment: The textile industry, to an ever-greater degree, is exploiting aluminum's resistance to acids for its high-speed reciprocating machinery. Bobbins, spools, tricot and section beams, spindles—all are being made of aluminum.

The oil industry is discarding steel roofs for storage tanks and substituting aluminum in the belief that aluminum capping reduces evaporation. It is also looking into replacement of steel pipelines.

The electrical industry in 1949 is seeking to double its use of insulated aluminum cables and building wire.

Packaging: Aluminum foil is supplanting other composition wrapping materials for frozen foods, candy bars, yeast cakes, butter, soap, typewriter ribbons, cigarets, surgical supplies. Aluminum caps and seals are elbowing aside almost all others for liquor, ketchup and other bottled goods, and the aluminum tube is becoming standard for toothpaste, etc.

IN PORTLAND, Oregon, the Equitable Savings and Loan Building is surfaced with aluminum and glass.



Similarly, in furniture, costume jewelry, hardware, tools, instruments, aluminum is making strides that are putting it out in front as the key metal of industrial civilization.

As a consequence, in the US as elsewhere, a stringent shortage of aluminum persists. In the first place the three US companies (Alcoa, 50 per cent, Reynolds 30 per cent, Kaiser (Permanente) 20 per cent) failed to anticipate the tremendous upsurge of demand in the immediate postwar period. At present, the 1.2 billion pounds of aluminum turned out in the US falls short by 500 million pounds, or some 40 per cent, of what the market urgently needs.

One reason for the shortage is that the necessity to expand every aluminum making facility, whether owned privately or by the government, was not foreseen soon enough by either Washington economists or the management of private plants. Another reason is the lack of electric power (see UNW November 1948) for it is as indispensable to aluminum production as coking coal for steel.

The aluminum industry uses more electrical energy than any other, as much each day as is required for a city of 300,000 population. Since the steel famine (see UNW August 1948) makes rapid enlargement of productive capacity extremely difficult, if not impossible, the aluminum industry is urging that electric powers plants be speeded. But this too means more steel. Hence, articulate sections of the aluminum industry are recommending to the government that it (1) re-activate aluminum plants in Germany, Italy and Japan and earmark a portion of their output for the US market and (2) that it suspend the current tariff on imports of ingots from Canada.

The first recommendation is now being applied in Germany, on a small scale. The second holds out promise but not assurance of materially increasing US supplies. Alcan, the famous Canadian aluminum firm, has the largest productive capacity of any single company in the world, a billion pounds a year. It is turning out only 670 million pounds at present and selling it mainly to the United Kingdom, Sweden, Poland, France, China, India, Belgium, New Zealand, Switzerland and South Africa. These countries are old permanent customers, who have no tariff barriers to suspend, while Alcan has to pay 2 cents a pound impost on all exports to the US. Alcan may not be pleased to play the part of a stopgap supplier to the US, diverting deliveries from and possibly alienating established customers. Alcan certainly is not enticed by the prospect of having its new US customers—once acute shortage is over—prove transient and turn back to US suppliers.

In all the world, to a greater or less degree, as speeded up industrialization becomes the goal of country after country, blueprints call for more, and yet more, aluminum.

■ In India, where elaborate industrial planning has acquired the character of a new theology, engineers and architects are planning to give aluminum an importance surpassed only by steel.

■ In France, the Monnet Plan administrators are seeking to use aluminum on the railroads and in structural projects to an extent that would have been derided as visionary before the war.

■ In the United Kingdom, two of Sir Stafford Cripps' managerial advisers are concentrating on how to get more aluminum and how to apply it more extensively.

■ In Sweden, SKF is experimenting with aluminum ball bearings.

■ In the USSR, the special urgency behind the drive to restore hydroelectric facilities is in part inspired by need to produce more aluminum. The USSR's recent gifts to Hungary of generators and turbines are perhaps not entirely divorced from the fact that an estimated 90 per cent of Hungary's aluminum output is to go to Russia.

■ In Brazil, the government has set out not only to enlarge bauxite exports but also to establish more efficient aluminum manufacturing and has imported experts to speed both tasks.

■ And in the US, which has set the pace in research and planning, new methods of welding, brazing and alloying aluminum come out almost daily. During the past year especially, this development has stimulated such rival industries as steel, copper and plastics to cultivate inventiveness and ingenuity with a new fervor. Certainly in the years ahead they will have to draw on both qualities to an ever increasing extent if they are to match the crescendo of aluminum's competitive challenge.

Primary Aluminum

World Production and Capacity in Pounds Per Year

	Present Output	Potential Output
UNITED STATES	1,200,000,000	1,364,000,000
CANADA	670,000,000	1,000,000,000
GERMANY	50,000,000	375,000,000
USSR	175,000,000	400,000,000
FRANCE	100,000,000	240,000,000
CHINA	10,000,000	50,000,000
NORWAY	45,000,000	75,000,000
HUNGARY	35,000,000	200,000,000
INDIA	10,000,000	100,000,000
BRAZIL	15,000,000	15,000,000
AUSTRIA	80,000,000	150,000,000
BRITAIN	75,000,000	120,000,000
ITALY	45,000,006	125,000,000
SWITZERLAND	40,000,000	80,000,000
SPAIN	26,000,000	35,000,000
JAPAN	25,000,000	350,000,000
SWEDEN	9,000,000	12,000,000
YUGOSLAVIA	4,000,000	11,000,000
Total Outside U.S.	1,414,000,000	3,338,000,000
World Total	2,614,000,000	4,702,000,000

Source: Modern Metals

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IN AN OSLO SHIPYARD, ONE SECTION OF WHAT IS TO BECOME A FREIGHTER'S BOW TAKES SHAPE

Salt-Encrusted Kroner

—Norway's Income From the Sea

In the UNITED NATIONS WORLD of November, 1948, George L. Killion, president of the American President Lines, told how the US was losing its wartime maritime supremacy. The following article illuminates that same question by explaining how Norway is rebuilding her shipping industry. Already US Liberty ships which Norway purchased at the war's end are being passed on to poorer maritime nations and their place taken by newer ships. American shipping, hard-pressed to meet rate competition and warned by ECA Administrator Paul Hoffman that the US share of ECA cargoes may be reduced must now face the certainty that the poorer nations which are buying Norway's 700,000 tons of old Liberties will pay lower wages than Norwegian owners and will attempt to undercut rates below the Norwegian "speed and service" scale.

BY JOHN SELAND

Fellow in Economics, University of Oslo

IF A COFFEE bush may mean Brazil, an oil tower Venezuela, sugar cane Cuba, sheep Australia and wine France—then surely the suitable symbol for Norway is a ship. And let it be a mechant ship, the adventurous but honest channel of barter by which men in far lands raise each the other's living standards.

None of the earth's peoples is more completely a seafaring one than Norway's. In 1939, Norway had 4.8 million gross registered tons of shipping. That was between four and five times as much per capita as any other nation—1,663 gross tons for every man, woman and child. The UK was second with 360 grt. per capita. Other leaders, in order, were Netherlands, 344; Denmark, 310; Greece 254; Sweden, 252; US, 92; Italy 80; Japan, 79; France, 70; Germany 60. The average: about 33 grt. for each person.

Furthermore, though its population was only .14 per cent of the world's, Norway's share in world trade was as high as 1 per cent, and its share in world tonnage above per cent.

THOUGH THE US, AS A NATION, LEADS IN TONNAGE—

NORWEGIANS, AS INDIVIDUALS, OWN MORE SHIPS

THAN THE PEOPLE OF ANY OTHER SINGLE COUNTRY

To maintain—and now to restore—this leadership, many Norwegians make their careers at sea. Of the adult male labor force in Norway, more than 3 per cent are engaged in shipping. In no other country does the proportion exceed 1 per cent. For Norway, the foreign exchange earned by the shipping industry paid for virtually a third of all imports. In no other maritime nation does the comparable figure rise above 10 per cent of imports, except in UK and Greece. Norway is, beyond all question, the salt-sea state.

Although Norwegian shipping has long traditions, its present international importance dates only from the early 19th century. One condition necessary for its development was the growth of industrialization and rapidly expanding world trade. Another was the repeal of discriminatory "navigation acts." The third was the segregation of the functions of trader and shipper. Only when it became common for traders to charter or ship by vessels other than their own could an international freighting business be established. The shipowner who was able to offer the lowest freights or the best service got, and built, business.

With this incentive, the Norwegian fleet expanded tremendously during the period 1825 to 1875, from 113,000 to 1,310,000 net register tons.

By 1875, Norway ranked third as a shipowning nation, after Great Britain and the United States. In 1914, she ranked fourth, after those two countries and Germany. In 1939, she was still fourth, after Britain, the US and Japan. Today, she is again number three, after the US and Britain.

The merchant fleets of most other countries mainly — although never solely—serve the foreign trade of their own country. Norwegian shipping departs strikingly from this pattern. Only 15 to 20 per cent of Norway's tonnage carry goods to and from Norway.

The other 80 to 85 per cent engage in trade solely between foreign countries, 40 per cent in trade wholly outside Europe. Neither an oil producing nation nor a heavy user of petroleum, Norway nonetheless specializes in oil transport by sea. Over two-fifths of its tonnage consists of tankers, the remainder being fairly evenly split between tramps and liners.

Norwegian tonnage is spread remarkably evenly over the various trade routes of the world. In Australian, Swedish, Finnish, Dutch and Belgian ports 7 per cent of the tonnage entered in foreign trade just before the war was Norwegian—the same percentage as Norway's share of world tonnage. In British, Danish, German, South African and Japanese ports, the proportion was somewhat lower; in American and Canadian slightly higher. For no country, for which I have found statistics on entrances and clearances, was the Norwegian share as low as 3 per cent.

Although the American fleet has been reduced since 1946, by scrapping of obsolete tonnage and sale of nearly 8 million grt. of warbuilt ships, part of which had been transferred before July 1, 1947, the US now holds a predominant position as a shipowning country. (UNW November, 1948). The Japanese and German flags have disappeared from the high seas. Sweden, Spain and other neutrals have increased their tonnage moderately. Great Britain has been able to cover most of her losses. The other Allied countries in Europe, from Norway to Greece, had in 1947, and still have today, a long way to go before their fleets have regained prewar size (see table at bottom of page).

Before the war, Europe had a large import surplus from the other continents. This was wholly covered by various invisible items, of which freights, and interests and dividends on foreign investments, were the largest. The war and its aftermath has converted Europe from a net creditor to a net debtor.

Before the war, freights earned by Europe from overseas exceeded disbursements overseas and freights paid to non-European vessels by a comfortable margin. Since the war, freights have been a big deficit item in Europe's balance of payments. A viable European economy can therefore not be achieved, even after the Marshall plan period, unless European exports can be stepped up sharply as compared to imports, and unless European shipping can regain its old position in world trade.

THE WORLD'S DEEP SEA MERCHANT FLEETS

Pre-war and postwar in millions of gross registered tons

	Summer 1939		Under	Summer 1947		Under
	Total	Tankers	10 years	Total	Tankers	10 years
UK (United Kingdom)	8.0	2.9	32%	17.9	3.0	56%
USA, excl. Gt. Lakes	8.9	2.8	12%	30.6	7.5	89%
Japan	5.6	0.4	38%	1.0	—	?
Norway	4.8	2.1	45%	3.8	1.6	42%
Germany	4.5	0.3	25%	0.6	—	10%
Italy	3.4	0.4	10%	1.3	0.2	40%
Netherlands	3.0	0.5	37%	2.4	0.4	51%
France	3.0	0.3	28%	2.3	0.3	43%
Greece	1.8	—	6%	1.0	0.1	54%
Sweden	1.6	0.2	25%	1.8	0.3	52%
Soviet Union	1.3	0.1	?	2.2	0.2	22%
Denmark	1.2	0.1	33%	1.0	0.1	45%
Spain	0.9	0.1	15%	1.1	0.1	14%
Canada	1.2	0.1	10%	1.9	0.2	55%
Panama	0.7	0.5	?	1.7	0.6	35%
World total	68.5	11.4	25%	78.7	15.3	60%

A SKELETAL HISTORY of World War II is encompassed in the table above. There one reads the fate of Axis fleets, miracles of US resurrection and of Norwegian survival.

Salt-Encrusted Kroner *continued*

Norway's problems typify those of Western Europe as a whole, and the reconstruction of Norway's fleet will play an essential part in the restoration of Europe's balance of payments in the shipping sphere.

During the second, as during the first world war, Norway lost just over 49 per cent of her tonnage. Very few replacements were obtained, and the net wartime reduction in tonnage was about 45 per cent.

During the war, Norway's fleet took its full share in the Allied war effort, in the unhappy evacuations from Norway, Dunkirk and Bordeaux, Greece, Crete and Singapore, the particularly dangerous convoys to Malta and Murmansk, and later the invasions of North Africa, Sicily, Italy and Normandy as well as the "Island-hopping" in the Pacific. In all, Norwegian vessels carried between 150 and 200 million tons of goods and war materials, among them about 3 per cent of all petrol brought to Britain.

Part of the tonnage Norway acquired after the war consists of American warbuilt vessels, of which nearly 700,000 gross tons have been bought. But the main effort of reconstruction has been concentrated on new building. Norway's position on the seas can only be maintained by high standards of competitive efficiency or, as expressed in the slogan of the largest Norwegian ship-owning company, by "Speed and Service."

Almost all new Norwegian vessels are being built abroad. Orders were actually placed clandestinely at Swedish yards in 1944, in anticipation of victory, by owners resident in occupied Norway. After the liberation, further orders were placed in Sweden and in Great Britain, and also in Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium and Italy. By July 1, 1948, 2.2 million gross tons were on order at Norwegian and foreign yards.

It is expected that most of this tonnage will be delivered before the end of 1952. Even so, Norway's merchant fleet will only be 5.6 million gross tons by January 1, 1953. The reason is that much of the older tonnage and the warbuilt tonnage bought from the US will probably be broken up or sold abroad to countries where seamen's wages are lower.

By 1953, new building and weeding out will probably have restored Norway to her prewar position as the owner of the most modern fleet in the world as is shown:

NORWEGIAN MERCHANT FLEET
(OVER 100 GROSS TONS)

	Total mill grt.	*Tankers mill grt.*	*Others mill grt.*
Jan. 1, 1940	4.7	1.9	2.8
May 8, 1945	2.7	1.1	1.6
July 1, 1948	4.2	1.7	2.5
Jan. 1, 1953 (est.)	5.6	2.9	2.7

The question has been raised: how can it be economically sound for Norway to build new vessels at a time when the world tonnage is much larger than before the war, although world trade has not grown at all?

The answer lies in the fact that world trade needs not just "tonnage" for its transport, it needs tonnage of particular types. The world tonnage "surplus" consists almost solely of big tramps of about 10,500 deadweight tons each, mainly the "Liberty" type. Such vessels are suitable for bulk shipments of coal and grain over long distances, but are ill-equipped for the liner trades, or carriage of general cargo, largely parcels of industrial products. They cannot be used in short hauls, such as the inter-European and West African trade in coal, timber, salt, nuts, etc., which need much smaller vessels. Nor can they be used for the carriage of petroleum in bulk, which requires tankers.

During the war, few cargo liners were built, but many lost and there is still a considerable shortage of such tonnage. Practically no small vessels were built, and most of the tonnage in the groups under 5000 deadweight is already overage. When Europe as a whole has again achieved self-sufficiency in coal, and the abnormal coal imports from the US by France, Italy and other countries can be replaced by deliveries from Britain, Bizonia and Poland, the need for big tramps will be further reduced. At the same time a scarcity may develop of vessels under 5000 deadweight. Furthermore, the world tanker fleet is today fully employed. Only new building can cope with the rapidly growing demand for petrol and the expanding exports from the Near East.

The vessels Norwegians are now building are fully adapted to meet this situation. No big tramps are being built for Norwegian owners; in fact, it is expected that the Norwegian fleet of such vessels will decline sharply during the coming years. Of dry cargo vessels, they are building only cargo liners, refrigerated fruiters, and small types. It is not expected that Norway's dry cargo fleet will have regained its prewar size even by 1953. The major expansion is limited to tankers and, even so, Norway will, by 1953, own a smaller share of the world tanker fleet than in 1939.

Internationally, Norway has always pursued a liberal shipping policy. By commercial treaties and international conventions, it has striven to support the principles of non-discrimination for shipping all over the world. These principles are practiced in Norway, even its coastal traffic being open for foreign competition on equal terms.

In these days, when most countries suffer by a scarcity of foreign exchange, many countries exercise exchange controls in such a way as to discriminate against foreign shipping. Norway does not. Import licences are given for the fob value of the goods, but the license automatically implies that a further amount of foreign exchange will be made available for the payments of freights, regardless of the flag of the transporting vessel.

For the Norwegian shipping industry to prosper, it is essential that similar non-discriminatory practices shall apply to all international commerce. Only then will vessels under the Norwegian flag be able to compete freely for all freights in all trades, and effectively contribute to the restoration of a viable economy for Europe in general and Norway in particular.

NOT BATTLESHIPS NOR LUXURY LINERS

BUT DOUGHTY, ADVENTUROUS, CLEAN AND SWIFT

CARRIERS OF THE WORLD'S EXOTIC AND ESSENTIAL CARGOES

A Forest Grew in Paris

Beneath the Eiffel Tower

THE CYNICAL AND THE MYOPIC—WHO EXPECTED
TOO LITTLE OR TOO MUCH—CANNOT SEE IT TODAY
BUT HALF A CENTURY HENCE THE THIRD ASSEMBLY
WILL BE RECOGNIZED AS THE CRADLE OF MAN'S DIGNITY

PARIS: The date was December 13. The 58 flagpoles that flank the Palais de Chaillot's famous fountains were bare. The statue of Marshal Foch rode on alone into the fog and three shivering gendarmes drooped in idleness by the entrance gates. There was now no crush of long, black limousines in front of the Palais. Within, the halls and chambers had an empty, spooky sound and feel. A handful of people were finishing last-minute jobs in darkened offices. Three newsmen hoisted a last cognac at the Press Bar. The Third General Assembly of the United Nations had recessed on December 12 not to reconvene until April 1949.

The General Assembly and its camp-followers had gone home.

There is a sense of relief and dull frustration in Paris now. Everyone has been too near the United Nations for too long under too-difficult circumstances for the reaction to be different.

Delegates, secretariat, journalists —and gendarmes and charwomen— all were worn out after three months of the Palais de Chaillot. A beautiful building, it is a decidedly uncomfortable one. During the last month, also, working sessions lasted every evening until 11. After that every night men and women must push their way home through the noxious pea-soup fog that lay over the city for weeks like a wet, chilly wool blanket.

Perhaps the most difficult goal of any meeting is compromise. That had to be the aim of the Third Assembly. There was no hope of a dramatic finale like last year's Palestine partition decision.

As the delegates were leaving, we asked some of them, "Do you think the General Assembly was a success?" Answers were guarded but the overall opinion was lukewarm. It is quite possible that it was fatigue replying; that any delegate's lack of enthusiasm was a temporary myopia which made him unable to see the forest for the trees. Perhaps the weariest delegates are those from Eastern Europe—especially Vyshinsky—who have, in effect, stood against the world not only in the General Assembly but in the extremely precarious Berlin situation. Actually, of course, the Third Assembly helped caterwauling, many-willed mankind well upward on the steep incline that leads to world peace and world law.

The total achievement it sweated out, though certainly less than the idealists wanted, was more than the world had hoped. Out of a session, which many itchy-fingered experts promised would see the breakup of the UN, came action that reduced the head of steam built up at Berlin, that assured the continuance of the UN and aggrandized the authority of its officers. Out of it came, also, the Declaration of Human Rights and a convention marking as criminal any government which practices or acquiesces in genocide (see page 64).

There were lesser achievements. The most that well-wishers hoped of this meeting was that it would, somehow, slow the tempo of war talk. This it did. Even so, it must be admitted that the really important problems were "solved" by postponing until next year real solutions.

■ The Atomic Energy Commission was told to "try again" despite its announced failure to resolve US-USSR differences on UN control over atomic energy.

■ The General Assembly asked the Commission for Conventional Armaments to "pursue the study of the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces."

■ The UN Committee to investigate Greek border incidents was extended for another year—Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria being sharply warned against continuing to give aid to Greek guerrillas. The four nations involved (including Greece) also were requested to meet with the Secretary General and the President of the General Assembly to seek a way of re-establishing neighborly relations. They accepted, and thus raised UN power and prestige another several notches.

■ The Soviet-boycotted "Little Assembly" was given another year of life.

UN Diary *continued*

■ The Soviet-sponsored demand that the Big Five cut their armies by one-third failed, but provided an interesting arena in which Messrs. Vyshinsky and Tsiang argued the Chinese Civil War, for the first time openly discussed in the UN.

■ The promotion of economic development in underdeveloped countries was given special attention by the General Assembly. Four resolutions were adopted making it possible for under-developed nations to get help from experts and train their own technicians. These resolutions put the Economic and Social Council on the job of considering plans for economic development and the raising of living standards. They asked for a speeding up of the Economic Commission for the Middle East.

■ South Africa was once more reminded that the rest of the world wishes her to place the territory of Southwest Africa under UN trusteeship and that, until she does, they expect regular reports on her administration of the territory.

■ A protocol for the international regulation of new and dangerous synthetic drugs such as demerol and amedon was approved. So far representatives of 58 countries including some that are not UN members have signed the protocol.

■ Argentina's attempt to call a conference to write the veto out of the Charter failed, but small nation spokesmen warned bluntly against Big Power "bullying." The Assembly finally passed a resolution on the basis of recommendations made by the "Little Assembly," asking once again for voluntary limitation of the veto, especially in the case of membership, pacific settlement of disputes, the "double veto" over Russia's protest that this was just one more step in the crusade to undermine the Charter whose cornerstone is Big-Five power unanimity.

Closely linked with the veto is the problem of the nations—Portugal, Ireland, Transjordan, Italy, Finland, Ceylon, Austria, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania, Mongolia—waiting to be admitted into UN membership. The veto has been used most frequently on admissions and, as a result, the International Court of Justice last year was asked its opinion whether it was legal to veto a membership application for reasons other than those specifically spelled out in the Charter—that the nation is not a peace-loving state.

The advisory opinion as handed down by the Court endorsed the Western view, namely that conditions for membership as stated in the Charter must be regarded "not merely as necessary conditions, but also as the conditions which suffice."

Slav delegates had argued flatly that membership is a highly political matter and therefore should be subject to veto; the US, assured of an Assembly majority, led the parade in declaring that she was willing to give up her right of veto on membership.

■ Meantime, another membership application was filed, this time by the state of Israel, on November 29, exactly one year after the UN approved its creation. Since then, Israel has been recognized in fact by 19 countries. Its membership in UN, which would strengthen considerably its part in any final Palestine settlement, was strongly supported by the US and USSR, vehemently opposed by Arab states while the rest of the Assembly waited to see what everybody else was going to do. They were still waiting on December 12.

■ The UN, at this Assembly, adopted a new and lesser role for itself in Palestine. The plan for peace proposed by its mediator, the late Count Folke Bernadotte, which would have given Arab Palestine and the Negeb to Transjordan was turned down and more responsibility put onto the Arabs and Jews themselves. They are to be assisted by a three-nation "conciliation commission" (France, Turkey, US), whose duty will be to arrange permanent boundaries and, if possible, set up an international government for the city of Jerusalem.

■ To take care of the half-million refugees from Palestine (virtually all Arabs), UN approved a $29,500,000 grant to be administered by Sir Raphael Cilento, of the Secretariat's Social Affairs Division.

■ The General Assembly on the last day of its Paris session, endorsed the Korean government of Dr. Syngman Rhee and extended the life of the Korean Commission for another year, by a vote of 48 to 6, with Sweden abstaining.

■ The General Assembly adopted a resolution asking Member States which had not already done so to register their treaties and other international agreements with the UN for publication, and reminding them of their obligation under the Charter.

■ Most significant in the long run of all Third Assembly actions was the approval of the International Declaration of Human Rights. This declaration when stated in a convention and ratified, will have legal force, but its real value to 20th century humanity is symbolic.

Despite vast differences in values among the 58 nations of the UN, 19 of 31 articles were approved without objection and the Declaration as a whole was passed without a negative vote. Only the six Soviet-bloc states, South Africa and Saudi Arabia abstained.

The Declaration is the product of two years' work and covers man's political, economic, religious, social and other rights. In the politically advanced countries, the declaration may not inspire overt and macroscopic changes. But it would atomize their society if put into practice in "backward" states. It won't be. But it will be read by the few literates —and the illiterate will learn of it and come to realize the readjustment of their lives that it implies.

Fifty years hence, we may be sure, nowhere in the world will men be discriminated against because their skin is black or brown—or because their religion or eyelids, cheekbones or noses mark them as a minority.

We may be sure of this because concepts have been written into international law—concepts of man's humanity which no nation can refute or hereafter ignore—have been written into law. And this law is no mere national document like the Magna Carta, the US Bill of Rights or the USSR Constitution. The documents which establish the fundamental international law of man are the Declaration of Human Rights and . . .

■ The Convention on Genocide, already signed by the 20 nations needed to make it binding. Ratification of this Convention will mean that nations recognize genocide as a crime under international law and promise to prevent and punish attempts by individuals or members of the gov-

ernment to destroy national, ethical, racial, religious or political groups. After a hard fight, reference to *cultural* genocide—the attempt to destroy a people's civilization by book-banning, language laws, school control and so on—was left out.

As a first result of adoption of the Genocide Convention, the new-born 15-member International Law Commission was given its first job by the General Assembly: outlining a Criminal Court within the International Court of Justice to try genocide cases. The new court would function when one nation charges another with permitting mass destruction of peoples within its borders.

■ Postponed until April is the fate of Italy's colonies in Africa and Secretary General Trygve Lie's proposal that the UN have a small armed force to protect its missions and to keep order in countries where it is working. Meantime, the International Court of Justice was asked to untangle the legal aspects of reparations for injuries suffered by UN employees in fulfillment of their duties. This question is an outgrowth of the casualties suffered by UN personnel in Palestine.

■ The General Assembly elected Norway, Cuba and Egypt to the Security Council, replacing Belgium, Colombia and Syria.

■ China, France, Peru and Chile were re-elected to the Economic and Social Council and Belgium and India were elected to replace Canada and the Netherlands.

■ The five judges of the International Court of Justice whose terms expire this year were all re-elected by the General Assembly. Switzerland, though not a member of the UN, took part in this election, as a party of the statute of the Court.

■ On December 11, the General Assembly adopted the largest UN budget to date, for 1949, $43,487,128. The amount contributed by member states is $38,692,578. The balance of $4,794,550 is derived from taxes on UN staff, sales of publications and miscellaneous sources.

■ The Assembly approved the setting up of an international center to train civil servants from countries which lack facilities for jobs in public administration. Budget appropriations were made, to enable the center to start functioning in 1950.

■ The Assembly approved the setting up of a UN Postal Service. The Secretary General can now start negotiating—first with those countries having main UN offices, for issuing of special or overprinted stamps.

At Paris, more than at any other session since San Francisco, personalities made the news of the Assembly. The role of Ralph Bunche in the Palestine situation . . . more power given to the President of the Security Council and General Assembly for pacific settlement of disputes . . . proposals for a permanent "bank" of world-renowned persons to serve as UN conciliators . . . the strong initiative taken by Security Council president Bragmuglia of Argentina in his attempts to fix a compromise on Berlin between US, UK, France and USSR—all these are examples of the role of individual peace makers having behind them the authority of the UN.

The Assembly's action calling on the Big Five to get together, which was generally considered an innocuous bit of wishful-resolving, was used by Trygve Lie and Assembly president Herbert Evatt as a hook on which to hang their personal plea to the four nations to resume direct negotiations on Berlin. Though the three Western Nations politely declined to act, they did not question the right and responsibility of the UN officers to urge them into action.

A moral victory for the Soviets, some newspapers called the move. It was, but only by default.

The true moral victory belonged to the UN and particularly to the Little Assembly which had earlier instructed the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Security Council to use their good offices for the purpose of conciliation. No better evidence could be asked to establish the integrity of the Soviet-boycotted and maligned Little Assembly; it should be difficult in the future for the Russians to denounce it as a creature of its makers, the Western bloc states.

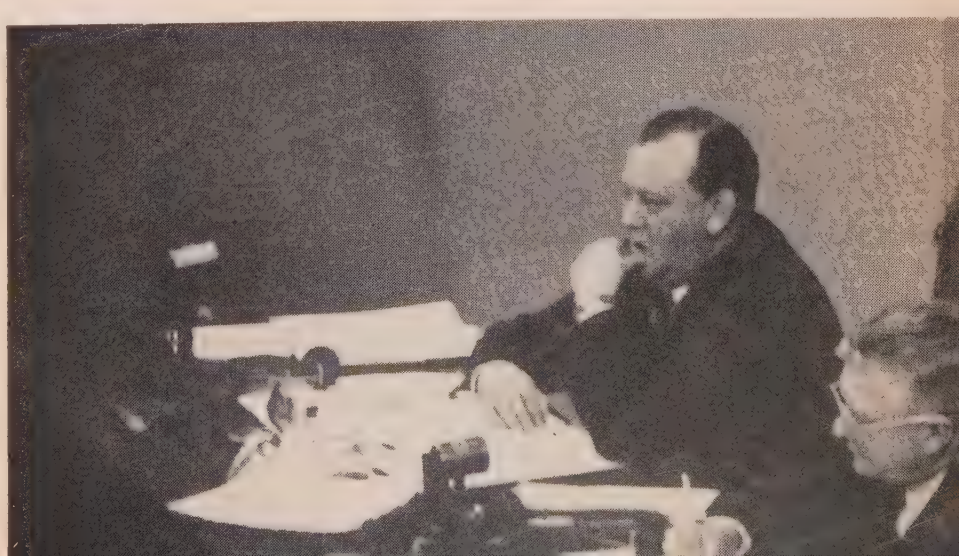
Thus, though the Berlin question remains where it was and the air lift goes on, the rising-tension curve begins to flatten out and even the formal splitting of Berlin by the Russians fails to arouse the hysteria that prevailed before the Assembly.

The UN started wending homeward several weeks before the Assembly ended. Ceiling-high piles of cartons full of typewriters were stacked in corridors, the non-airborne eagerly watched ship-sailing schedules and worried over the big fog and New York's dock strike.

The charm of Paris captivated some. Weeks ago, plaintive notices began to appear on the bulletin boards, "Wanted: cheap apartment in Paris," or "Wanted: job in Paris. Can read and write French and English, type, shorthand."

But for the bulk of UN employees, it's back home now and more work. After their boat trip across the Atlantic, they will have scarcely a four weeks' breather before the Economic and Social Council comes to Lake Success for its eighth session which may last almost until the second part of the Third General Assembly convenes in April.

MEN OF INFLUENCE. General Assembly President Evatt, right, and SG Trygve Lie used their offices to promote Berlin peace—as did Security Council President Juan Bramuglia.



BY GEORGE J. MATHIEU
Chief of the Translation Division of the UN

Words Before Peace

INTERPRETERS' BOOTHS OVERLOOK A POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING

THE HEAVY BURDEN OF COMMUNICATING
THE EMOTION AND MEANING, THE WORD AND THOUGHT
ON WHICH INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT
WILL BE BASED OR COLD WAR HINGE
IS BORNE BY THE UNITED NATIONS'
CORPS OF TRANSLATORS AND INTERPRETERS

USING the wrong word, or misunderstanding a speech or a remark may lead to more trouble—or at least to more time lost in discussions — than political issues themselves. In diplomatic life we are at every step confronted with language problems. These, however, are for the greater part of fairly recent origin.

For centuries Latin was the language of diplomacy, and Latin was superseded by French as diplomacy's only tongue. The Treaty of Versailles authorized the use of two official languages — English and French — instead of one, and thus led to the appearance of a new profession, that of official diplomatic interpreter.

The profession of interpreter was practiced by only very few and from the first world war until the beginnings of UN only a dozen or so top-notch interpreters had full-time jobs.

TWO KINDS: CONSECUTIVE AND SIMULTANEOUS

Apart from one exception, and until quite recently, only one type of interpretation was practiced, the so-called "consecutive" kind. In consecutive translation, the interpreter listens to a speech and takes notes as it goes on. These notes should be as scanty as possible—only a few words and signs to enable the interpreter to reconstruct the sequence of arguments and to remember the salient and characteristic words which give color to the speech.

Whatever the length of the discourse, a good interpreter never asks the orator to stop in order to enable him to render the translation bit by bit. Some orators have been known to speak for over an hour nonstop. In-

terpretations, of course, are usually somewhat shorter than original speeches, but even then, this operation represents a tremendous effort.

Interpreters have found that their most exhausting work is that which is connected with very tense international situations. Stormy atmospheres are, perhaps, felt more keenly by them because the part they have to play becomes all the more important. Every single word is fraught with significance and is closely watched by the parties concerned, so that any slip, or even weakness, of the interpreter may have serious consequences.

REASONING AND SEQUENCE INTERPRETER'S GOAL

The question is often asked: do interpreters use shorthand? The answer is definitely in the negative. No one could simultaneously perform the two mental operations of translating and taking down shorthand. In any case, what the interpreter is after is the reasoning, the sequence of arguments, starting with the premises and leading up to the conclusions. Thus, and thus only, can he give an intelligent rendering of a speech.

To this is added the fact that, in some cases, the interpreter is instructed by the Chairman to summarize the speech. That, of course, is possible only if the interpretation is based on an intelligent analysis, and is not purely mechanical.

What are the necessary qualifications and qualities of a good interpreter? Some of these are obvious: a knowledge of languages and of as many technical subjects as possible. In the course of one week, an interpreter may have to speak on atomic energy, on highly technical legal issues, on statistics, finance, demographic problems, the regulation of whale hunting, the incidence of the tse-tse fly, tonnage measurement, buoyage and lighting of coasts, the rights of man.

In addition, an interpreter must be able to speak in public without any trace of stage fright or even shyness. Not only is he sometimes likely to have large audiences, but he has to meet, and speak before, the best-known statesmen in the world.

Discretion is another necessary quality one finds highly developed in interpreters. They often participate in the most confidential and far-reaching discussions, and delegates must feel that they can speak freely. Actually, to my knowledge, no leakage of information has ever been traced to an interpreter.

Interpreters' work also demands great presence of mind and a measure of psychological understanding. When a delegate speaks in a language which is not his mother tongue, though the effort in most cases is crowned with success, there are occasions when his meaning becomes obscure. There are delegates, for example, who have a tendency to accumulate negatives in the same sentence. After a while, one loses count and it becomes impossible to add them up in order to determine whether the total amounts to an affirmative or a negative. The only thing to do is to think quickly, remember what the delegate's attitude generally is with regard to the subject of the debate or similar subjects, decide what he probably meant and hope for the best.

If time and circumstances allow, the interpreter can sometimes whisper a question so as to clarify the point, or even ask it aloud at the end of the speech, but most of them are reluctant to do so. Of course, mistakes are rectified afterwards, but it is naturally a point of honor with interpreters to perform with a high degree of accuracy. Should part of a speech, or sometimes a whole speech, be obscure, the interpreter must decide from his knowledge of the speaker whether he intended to be obscure, or whether it was accidental. In the second case, it is his duty to make the translation clearer than the original.

Quotations and references are always a source of difficulty for interpreters. The United Nations has set up a special section in the Secretariat which deals with this problem and provides interpreters, translators, precis-writers and verbatim reporters with all the reference material they need. During meetings, interpreters help each other in marking the relevant passages in documents from which orators draw their quotations.

Apart from "consecutive" interpretation, another system is also in use, the "simultaneous" system. Interpreters sit in small soundproof booths installed in the rooms where meetings take place. They listen to speeches through earphones, but are able to watch the speakers through a window. As the speech goes on, they rapidly inject the translation, one or two sentences at a time, into the mouthpiece of a telephone connected with earphones provided for each delegate, or with small portable radio receiving apparatuses with a very short range, called "walkie-talkies." In either case, by turning a knob, users of the earphones can tune in to the interpretation in the language desired.

Though the more spectacular, interpreting is not the only aspect of linguistic activity in the international sphere. Documents have to be translated from some 30 languages into the five official languages: Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish. Out of these five, two, English and French, are UN working languages. This means that all documents are produced in these two languages. Important official records are also issued in the other three, but apart from these, documents are translated into Chinese, Russian or Spanish only if the request is made by a Delegation.

This has required the setting up, in the UN Secretariat and in the secretariats of specialized agencies, of various divisions and sections and the recruitment of technical staff. Standards for such a staff are very high, and recruitment is correspondingly difficult. It should be noted that it is an absolute rule to insist that translators of documents must translate only into their mother tongue, which should be one of the five official languages.

ARTIFICIAL LANGUAGE PROBLEM OF INDIVIDUAL NATIONS

What are the prospects of an international artificial language? Personally, I do not think that the use of such a language can be promoted by the international institutions. The initiative, if it is taken, should come from individual nations. If and when a sufficient number of statesmen and delegates can speak such a language, its use in international life will become automatic.

Until then, I am afraid we will have to continue to struggle with our linguistic problems and acknowledge our debt of gratitude to the obscure and devoted body of workers who, behind the scenes, day and night, dedicate all their strength to the patient and strenuous work of translating, so that men may have a chance of reaching a better understanding.

Vyshinsky's English Voice

BY CURT L. HEYMANN

SHERRY INTERPRETING VYSHINSKY

POLISH-BORN, RUMANIAN-REARED AMERICAN BY EDUCATION AND CITIZENSHIP GEORGE SHERRY WHO HAS NEVER BEEN TO RUSSIA CATCHES THE FIRE, THE FLOW, AND THE MEANING, OF THE ARDENT RUSSIAN'S VITUPERATIVE ORATORY

PARIS: As Andrei Vyshinsky and Paul-Henri Spaak emerged as the top-ranking speakers of the United Nations Assembly, the voice of their English interpreter became familiar to thousands of delegates, officials and visitors at the Palais de Chaillot. He is a 25-year-old American of Polish descent who came to the United States only nine years ago.

His name is George L. Sherry. He speaks six tongues. His United Nations assignment is interpretation from Russian and French into English, though he has never been in Russia and this is his first visit to France.

Sherry, the son of a Russian father and a Polish mother, was born in Poland where he learned Polish, then moved with his family to Rumania where he learned Rumanian. In his home, however, his father insisted that he speak Russian, "the language of Tolstoi." He spoke English and French with his mother and German with his nurse. When he came with his parents to the US in 1939, he finished high school in one year and a half and was graduated from the College of the City of New York *summa cum laude* three years later in 1944.

He joined the *New York Times* staff as a reporter and radio desk man, later went to the UN as a reports writer, finally passed his examination as a UN interpreter. He is now studying in his spare time for a Master of Arts degree, and recently married a fellow student, an emigree from Luxembourg.

Accuracy and speed have won for Sherry his reputation as specialist for simultaneous interpretation from French and Russian into English—and his status as the foremost interpreter of Vyshinsky and Spaak. Especially Vyshinsky has requested that Sherry interpret him which he has done, almost exclusively, since the Second General Assembly.

In effect, Sherry has become the Russian's alter ego. He does not merely translate Vyshinsky's speeches, he actually interprets them. This requires exceptional intellectual concentration. According to Sherry, putting Vyshinsky into equivalent English requires "a running analysis at the rate of 300 words a minute of what may be a statement of greatest consequence."

"Vyshinsky's interpretation," says Sherry, "must be given in such a way as to convey to English-speaking listeners not only what he's trying to say but also how he's saying it."

Vyshinsky usually starts off with a prepared text, follows it for a few paragraphs, then lays it aside and continues extemporaneously. When he becomes fiery and furious, as frequently happens, his English-speaking voice not only gives the gist of the words that come through his earphones but, by watching him closely from his glass-enclosed box, tries to get the Russian's expression. As a consequence he has adopted many of Vyshinsky's characteristics of speech and mannerisms. That part of his job is not voluntary, says Sherry.

"Obviously," he adds, "by getting into the swing of the speech, one is bound to mirror the emotions that are implicit. It has nothing to do with political convictions, for five minutes later I shall probably throw myself with the same emotions into the spirit of the next speaker."

Sherry has never met the Russian delegate privately. Once, after a two-hour burst of oratory in the Political Committee, Vyshinsky came up to him and apologized for having tested him soundly and Sherry replied that he didn't mind a bit. That was the only time the two men ever "exchanged" words.

BY DR. LIU CHIEH

Non-Self-Governing

is an objectionable word

THE AUTHOR

HOW far are the African tribesmen who dwell on the mountain slopes, valleys and plains of Tanganyika ready and able to play a greater part in the conduct of their own affairs?

Are new schools being built fast enough in the war-ravaged villages of New Guinea?

Are there enough doctors in Ruanda-Urundi to wage successfully the endless campaigns against malaria, dysentery, sleeping sickness and the other diseases that sap the health and energy of its people?

Is the plantation worker at Rabaul getting an adequate wage, the child at Kisenyi enough to eat?

It has been a primary concern of the United Nations Trusteeship Council to ask hundreds of questions such as these and, through careful study of the replies, to formulate a picture of the everyday lives, the needs, the cares of more than 10,000,000 people.

In effect, these 10,000,000 men, women, and children are wards of the United Nations. They are indigenous populations of three of the 10 territories grouped at opposite sides of the globe, on the continent of Africa and in the Pacific Ocean, which have now been placed under the International Trusteeship System.

The control of their destinies, until they are able to stand by themselves, has been entrusted to individual United Nations member countries. But it remains the function of United Nations as a whole, through the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council, to keep watch over their progress and to ensure that they are governed in such a way as to promote their political, economic, social, and educational advancement and progressive development towards self-government or independence.

The Trusteeship Council this summer achieved substantial further progress in its supervisory task.

The third session was the first at which the Council was able to undertake its full, regular examination of the reports in which the Administering Authorities each year give an account of the manner in which they are discharging their responsibilities in the Trust Territories. The Council examined three of these reports, on the African territories of Ruanda-Urundi, administered by Belgium, and Tanganyika, administered by the United Kingdom, and on the Pacific territory of New Guinea, administered by Australia.

Broadly speaking, the Council found certain needs common to all three territories. In each, it felt that the development of political understanding and participation in government should be accelerated; it saw room for improvement in certain economic aspects; it saw a need for the expansion of medical services; and in the field of education, to which particular importance was attached, it found scope for widespread campaigns designed to reduce illiteracy and to prepare the people for intelligent participation in the conduct of their own affairs.

Its most difficult problem, however, was to pass judgment on an important aspect of the government of all three territories, the "administrative union" of each with neighboring territories actually belonging to the administering powers and lying beyond the jurisdiction of the Trusteeship System.

The primary concern of the Council was to determine how far such unions were permissible and whether they would tend to extinguish the political entity of the Trust Territories and hinder the attainment of the basic objectives of self-government or independence. According to these criteria the unions, particularly those affecting New Guinea and Tanganyika, were defended by some members and condemned by others. Real agreement could only be reached on the broad principles that the status and separate identity of each Trust Territory must be preserved and that no measures must be taken which would impair the advancement of the inhabitants as envisaged in the United Nations Charter.

It would be generally agreed, in my opinion, that the effectiveness of the Trusteeship System must depend largely on our becoming, as rapidly as possible, more familiar with the far-flung parts of the earth to which it extends; and in this connection a significant further act of the Council at its Third Session was to instruct and despatch to East Africa the first of its regular Visiting Missions.

This Mission is the forerunner of the small groups which will be sent year by year to see for themselves, and for the Council as a whole, the conditions under which our many millions of wards live their lives; to learn their needs and aspirations; and to help the governments which have accepted responsibility for them to bring these peoples steadily to full and equal partnership in a peaceful, prosperous family of nations.

PRESIDENT OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL RECORDS A YEAR OF PROGRESS FOR THE AGENCY AND FOR THE POORLY PAID, HOUSED, SCHOOLED AND DOCTORED INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

IT ISN'T 'GRANDMA'S HOUSE'—QUITE—
BUT THE PALACE OF THE NATIONS,
ITS LAWNS, LIBRARIES AND INTERNATIONAL
SECRETARIAT REPRESENT THE TANGIBLE PARTS OF UN'S HERITAGE

UN's Old Homestead

between the lake and the mountain

PALAIS DES NATIONS FLANKED BY FLOWERS LOOKS WESTWARD ACROSS WIDE LAWNS AND LOVELY LAKE GENEV

BY JEANNE WASHABAUGH

GENEVA is unique. It is a city of churches of almost every sect and students from almost every nation. It has a street named for the Devil and another for philosophy. Its shops, crammed with chocolate, ration-free cheese and butter, incredible pastries and fat coils of sausages are the mecca of French men and women who cross the border in the morning with empty string shopping bags, and go home with them full at night.

One cosmopolite explained Geneva by saying it is to Paris what Washington is to New York—it has plenty but it does not sparkle.

In Geneva the UN has inherited the Palais des Nations, splendid home of the late League of Nations and, next to the Palace of Versailles, the largest building in Europe. It has inherited its library, now probably the finest on the Continent; it has even inherited some of the League's staff and traditions. The United Nations and its specialized agencies whose headquarters are here (International Refugee Organization, World Health Organization, International Telecommunications Union and the Preparatory Commission of the International Trade Organization) employ a total of almost 1,900 people. During conferences, the number rises above 2,500.

The Palais des Nations stands on a hill looking westward across Lake Geneva to the Jura Mountains in France. Unlike the United Nation's future Manhattan home on New York's tug-crowded, turbid East River, the Palais faces wide lawns neatly trimmed, where crescents of mauve asters bloom in the late fall. Before its great granite pillars stands a massive gilt globe, "The Celestial Sphere," a memorial to Woodrow Wilson, who inspired the League's founding.

Wilson's dream never came true. Except in narcotics, white slavery and health control, the League of Nations missed its goal as an organization through which the nations would act internationally. Now a big, hushed room in the Library Wing is full of museum cases—its official records. One can find a teakwood box from Indonesia containing a petition bearing 15,000 signatures addressed to the 19th Conference on Disarmament. There are ballots, stamps and a map from the Saar plebiscite of 1935. There is the USSR's application for membership dated September 17, 1934, and signed by Maxim Litvinoff.

There is a blue-and-gold silk banner on which is written "Welcome the Impartial, Honorable League of Nations Enquiry Commission." It dates from 1931 when the League's mission arrived in China to investigate the first violation of a member's territory by another League member—the Manchurian aggression out of which grew, in time, World War II. Also in the museum are the letters from Japan (1933), Germany (1933), Spain (1937) and Italy (1937), withdrawing from the League of Nations.

Around the walls are photographs and portraits of the people who made the League. There are the Immortals: Nansen, Lord Cecil, Carl Hambro, Austin Chamberlain, Balfour, Paderewski, Hjalmar Branting, Briand, Mme. Curie, Jean Paul Boncour. There are men who now, with older, more tired faces, are still figures in world affairs: Henri Bonnet, Leon Blum, Jose Gustavo Guerrero, Anthony Eden, Jan Smuts, Edouard Herriot, Lord Halifax, Alvarez del Vayo, Paul-Henri Spaak, Costa du Rels, MacKenzie King and Victor Hoo. Among them all is the photograph of only one US citizen, Woodrow Wilson.

In the Secretariat building the UN is alive and vital. Here statisticians of the Economic Commission for Europe are compiling figures on coal and steel production, arranging with European governments for the easing of restrictions on international travel, preparing data for the standardization of such everyday things as threadings on nuts and bolts.

Here is the UN Information Center which circulates press releases, films and posters through much of Europe and beams a bi-weekly radio program on UN events.

Here is the Interim Committee of the International Trade Organization which last year concluded bi-lateral agreements on tariff reductions, a milestone in economic history.

And the World Health Organization headquarters sends from here specialists to anti-TB, anti-malaria and other public health missions in 14 countries.

The International Refugee Organization, though it is only temporary, has the biggest budget of any specialized agency. Engaged in repatriating or resettling 800,000 DPs, it is the world's biggest travel agency, with 25 ships under charter.

Exclusive of the specialized agencies, UN employs around 580 people in Geneva, though this figure varies constantly because additional "conference staff" is hired for large meetings. Despite the fact that Geneva is one of the most expensive cities in Europe, UN workers here are paid 5 per cent less than the Lake Success salary scale which starts at $1580 and goes up to $10,000. Their pay is reckoned in US dollars but paid in Swiss francs at 4.28 to the dollar. Apartment rents (when you can find an apartment) average about 280 francs a month but gas, electricity, heat and water are extra. Hotel rents are as expensive as in New York; dry cleaning costs three times as much.

Geographical representation at Geneva is heavily weighted toward Britain (about 150), France (130) and Switzerland (110). There are only 25 Americans and fewer Russians. Secretariat Chief is Wlodimierz Modorow, a Pole. In charge of the Economic Commission for Europe is the noted Swedish economist and social scientist, Dr. Gunnar Myrdal. The Geneva Secretariat works very hard. This year there have been 1276 meetings at Geneva, serviced by a 580-man Secretariat. Lake Geneva secretariat members like to point out —not entirely fairly, perhaps—that at Lake Success, there were 1409 meetings, serviced by a Secretariat of almost 3,000.

AN EDITORIAL—BY LOUIS DOLIVET
International Editor

The World of the Free

Man's Noblest Aspirations Were Exalted—His Basest Acts Outlawed—at Paris

ONE HUNDRED years hence—when our children's children's children look back on the Third Assembly, they will remember it not as the one during which the Berlin question went unsettled but as the meeting which recognized and spelled out for all the world the basic rights of man. This was achieved by the adoption of two documents, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the convention outlawing genocide.

These two documents, adopted by the General Assembly, are such titanic achievements that they outweigh all the innumerable weaknesses of the United Nations.

What the UN has done is to provide for the extirpation of that which is the most evil in man and the exaltation of that which is noblest.

The UN has dared to reach deep into the darkest recesses of bestial and homicidal instincts. It has taken into account all the horrible crimes committed throughout the centuries—in particular by the Axis powers in World War II—and proclaimed them to be what they always have been: crimes incompatible with the spirit of justice.

Had such a convention outlawing genocide been in existence and ratified by most of the governments of the earth, many of the unspeakable acts of torture and mass murder committed by the Nazis and Fascists would never have taken place. For had such a convention existed, every member of the Axis hierarchy—from the prime minister to the gauleiter, from concentration camp guard to intellectual accomplice or writer glorifying the Nazi concept—would have known that he was committing a crime against humanity and that he would be punished for it by an international court.

The important thing about the genocide convention is that it specifically puts the responsibility for the crime on the individual, and that once the convention is ratified, no one will be able to hide behind the pretext of "higher orders."

The Declaration of Human Rights contains the highest precepts of all religions and the common qualities of all the great political bills of rights—written into the Magna Carta and into the basic law of the United States and France. It is now transformed into a universal proclamation of the immortal dignity of man.

The Assembly knew that it was setting such high standards of human behavior that enforcement alone would not be sufficient. Therefore the declaration proclaims "that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance."

Enlarging upon the Charter and widening its scope the Assembly has added to rights and freedoms due every man without distinction as to race, color, sex, language and religion, the words "political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

The declaration, not satisfied with proclaiming the right of every one to life, establishes the rights without which life is not worth living. In the same breath in which it states the right to live, it establishes the right to liberty and security of person. It forbids slavery in any form, torture, and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 13 of the declaration sets new standards for human dignity when it proclaims: "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honor and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks."

The remnants of discrimination and prejudice in the US and the colonial territories of the earth, the limitations on individual freedom in the Soviet Union and adjacent countries, and all the other remaining obstacles in the hearts and minds of almost every human being henceforth will become not only a violation of the human status, and of national constitutions, but crimes against the international community itself.

A new era is dawning upon mankind—an era so full of promise and so nearly within the reach of the world because of the decision of the General Assembly, that every human being who wants to act in the interest of mankind has a task before him. There is an answer to the question which every man of good will is asking himself in his innermost being, "What can I do?" The answer to that question is:

Make the convention against genocide and the Declaration of Human Rights a binding law within your countries, your communities, your homes. Only so will it become the law of all mankind.